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THE CULTURAL ROLE OF CITIES*

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THIS paper has as its purpose to set forth a framework of ideas that may prove useful in research on the part played by cities in the development, decline, or transformation of culture. 'Culture' is used as in anthropology. The paper contains no report of research done. It offers a scheme of constructs ; it does not describe obeserved conditions or processes ; references to particular cities or civilizations are illustrative and tentative.

Time Perspectives

The cultural role of cities may be considered from at least three different time prespectives. In the long-run prespective of human history as a single career,[1] the first appearance of cities marks a revolutionary change : the beginnings of civilization. Within this perspective cities remain the symbols and carriers of civilization

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1 Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, Ithaca, New York, 1953, ix-xiii. W. N. Brown and others, 'The Beginnings of Civilization,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Supplement No. 4, December, 1939, pp. 3-61.

wherever they appear. In fact the story of civilization may then be told as the story of cities—from those of the ancient Near East through those of ancient Greece and Rome, medieval and modern Europe ; and from Europe overseas to North and South America, Australia, the Far East, and back again to the modern Near East. In the short-run perspective we may study the cultural role of particular cities in relation to their local hinterlands of towns and villages.[2] The time span here is the several-year period of the field research or, at most the lifespan of the particular cities that are studied. Between the long-and short-run perspectives, there is a middle-run perspective delimited by the life-history of the different civilizations within which cities have developed.[3] This is the perspective adopted when we consider the cultural bearings of urbanization within Mexican civilization,[4] or Chinese civilization or Indian civilization or Western civilization. It is a perspective usually of several thousand years and embraces within its orbit not just a particular city and its hinterland, but the whole pattern and sequence of urban development characteristic of a particular civilization and its cultural epochs.

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[2] Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1941. This study, short-run in description, also aims to test some general ideas.

David G. Mandelbaum, (ed.), 'Integrated Social Science Research for India,' *Planning Memo.*, University of California, 1949.

[3] Kroeber has recently discussed the problems of delimiting civilizations in his articles, 'The Delimitation of Civilizations, *Journal of the History of Ideals*, Vol. XIV (1953).

Mark Jefferson, 'Distribution of the world's city folk : a study in comparative civilization,' *Geographia*, 1931

[4] Paul Kirchhoff, in 'Four Hundred Years After : General Discussion of Acculturation, Social Change, and the Historical Provenience of Culture Elements,' *Heritage of Conquest* by Sol Tax and others (Glencoe Ill. : The Free Press, 1952), p. 254 ; 'It seems to me that the fundamental characteristic of Mesoamerica was that it was a stratified society one like ours or that of China, based on the axis of city and countryside. There was a native ruling class, with a class ideology and organization, which disappeared entirely; there were great cultural centers which, just as in our life, are so essential if you described the U.S.

While these perspectives are clearly interrelated research and analysis may concentrate primarily on one of them. Empirical ethnographic, sociological and geographical research on cities begins in the nature of the case with the short-run perspective, but the significance of such research increases as it becomes linked with ideas and hypotheses drawn from the other perspectives. One begins, say, with an empirical study of the origins, morphology, functions, and influence of an Asiatic city.[5] Then one may go on to look at this city as a link in the interaction of two distinct civilizations, and see the problem of urbanization in Asia generally as a problem in Westernization,[6] or the problem of Spanish-Indian acculturation of Mexico after the Conquest as a problem of de-urbanization and re-urbanization.[7] Finally, the canvas may be further enlarged to show both Western and Eastern cities as variants of a single and continuing cultural and historical process.[8] In

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without New York, Chicago, etc., it would be absurd. The same thing happens when you describe these centers in ancient Mexico... It's not only the arts, crafts and sciences which constitute the great changes, but the basic form of the culture changing from a city structure to the most isolated form, which is, in my opinion, the most total and radical change anywhere in history... When the city is cut off what is left over is attached as a subordinate to the new city-centered culture...'

5 S. Ghosh, 'The urban pattern of Calcutta.' *Economic Geography*, 1950.

J. Weulersse, 'Antioche, un type de cite de l'Islam,' *Congr. int. de Ge'ographie*, Warsaw, 1934, III.

D R. Gadgil, *Poona, A Socio-Economic Survey*, Poona, 1945, 1952.

6 'Urbanization is part of the Europeanization that is spreading throughout the world,' Mark Jefferson in reference (3) above. Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 148-49; M. Zinkin, *Asia and the West*, London, 1951, Ch. 1, 'Eastern Village and Western City.'

7 Kirchhoff, *op. cit.*

8 See for this approach the books of V. Gordon Childe, and his article in *Town Planning Review*, XXI (1950) on 'The Urban Revolution.'

this paper we propose to concetrate on the middle-run perspective, i.e., we shall analyze the role cities play in the formation, maintenance, spread, decline, and transformation of civilizations. We think that links with the long-and short-run perspectives will also emerge in the course of the analysis.

In the many useful studies of cities by urban geographers, sociologists, and ecologists we find frequent reference to 'cultural functions' and 'cultural centers'.[9] Under these rubrics they generally include the religious, educational, artistic centers and activities, and distinguish them from administrative, military, economic centers and functions. This usage of 'cultural' is too narrow for the purpose of a comparative analysis of the role cities play in the transformations of the more or less integrated traditianal life of a community. Economic and political centers and activities may obviously play as great a role in these processes as the narrowly 'cultural' ones. Moreover, these different kinds of centers and activities are variously combined and separated and it is these varying patterns that are significant. In ancient civilizations the urban centers were usually political-religious or political-intellectual; in the modern world they are economic.[10] The mosque, the temple, the cathedral, the royal palace, the fortress, are the symbolic 'centers' of the pre-industrial cities. The 'central business district' has become symbolic of the

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[9] Grace M. Kneedler, 'Functional types of cities,' reprinted in *Reader in Urban Sociology*, edited by Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1951; R. E. Dickinson, *The West European City*, London ; Routledge & Paul, 1951, pp. 253-54; Chauncey Harris, 'A functional classification of cities in the United States,' *Geogr. Review*, New York, 1943.

[10] D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Revolution of India in Recent Times*, Oxford, 1944, pp. 6-12.

O. H. K. Spate and E. Ahmad, 'Five cities of the Gangetic Plain. A cross-section of Indian cultural history,' *Geog Rev.*, 1950.

P. George, *La Ville*, Paris, 1952.

B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Penguin, Balti-

modern urban centre. In fact a cross-cultural history of cities might be written from the changing meanings of the words for city. 'Civitas' in the Roman Empire meant an administrative or ecclesiastical district. Later, 'city' was applied to the ecclesiastical center of a town—usually the cathedral. This usage still survives in names like 'Ile de la Cite'' for one of the first centers of Paris. With the development of the 'free cities,' 'city' came to mean the independent commercial towns with their own laws.[11] Today,, the city' of London is a financial center, and when Americans speak of 'going to town' or 'going downtown' they mean they are going to the 'central business district.' They usually think of any large city as a business and manufacturing center, whereas a Frenchman is more likely to regard his cities — certainly Paris — as 'cultural centers'.[12]

This symbolism is not of course a completely accurate designation of what goes on in the city for which it stands. The ecclesiastical centers were also in many cases centers of trade and of craftsmen, and the modern central business district' is very apt to contain libraries, schools, art museums, government offices and churches, in addition to merchandising establishments and business offices. But allowing for this factual distortion, this symbolism does help us to separate two quite distinct cultural roles of cities and provides a basis for classifying cities that is relevant to their cultural role. As a 'central business district,' the city is obviously a market-place a place to buy and sell, 'to do business'—to truck, barter and

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more, 1953. Map showing ancient and historic art and religious centers, p. xvii.

Fei Hsiao-Tudg, *China's Gentry, Essays in Rural-Urban relations*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 91-117.

11 R. E. Dickinson *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 251–52; H. Pirenne, *Medieval Cities*.

12 See article on 'Urbanization' by W. M. Stewart in 14th edition of *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* for some cultural variables in the definition of 'city.'

exchange with people who may be complete strangers and of different races, religions and creeds. The city here functions to work out largely impersonal relations among diverse cultural groups. As a religious or intellectual center, on the other hand, the city is a beacon for the faithful, a center for the learning authority and perhaps doctrine that transforms the implicit 'little traditions' of the local non-urban cultures into an explicit and systematic 'great tradition'. The varying cultural roles of cities, so separated and grouped into two contrasting kinds of roles with reference to the local traditions of the non-urban peoples, point to distinction to which we shall soon return and to which we shall then give names.

Types of Cities

In the studies of economic historians (Pirenne, Dopsch) and in the studies of the currently significant factors for economic development (Hoselitz),[13] the functions of cities are considered as they effect change; but the change chiefly in view is economic change. Our attention now turns to the roles of cities in effecting change in the content and integration of ideas, interests and ideals.

The distinction Hoselitz takes from Pirenne between political-intellectual urban centers on the one hand and economic centers on the other, points in the direction of the distinction necessary to us in taking up the new topic. But the distinction we need does not fully emerge until we refine the classification by (1) separating the political function from the intellectual and (2) giving new content to the term 'intellectual'. Delhi, Quito and Peiping are to be contrasted, as Hoselitz says, with Bombay, Guayaquil and Shanghai because the former three cities are 'political-intellectual centers' and the latter three are 'economic centers'. (The contrast of Rio to Sao Paolo is less clear.) Let us now add

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[13] B. Hoselitz, 'The role of cities in the economic growth of underdeveloped countries,' *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. LXI (1953), esp. 198-99.

that there are cities with political functions and without significant intellectual functions: New Delhi (if it be fair to separate it from old Delhi), Washington, D. C. and Canberra (the new university there may require a qualification). Further, the intellectual functions of Delhi, Quito and Peiping (and Kyoto, Lhasa, Cuzco, Mecca, medieval Lie`ge and Uaxactun) are to develop, carry forward, elaborate a long-established cultural tradition local to the community in which those cities stand. These are the cities of the literati : clerics, astronomers, theologians, imams and priests. New Delhi and Washington, D. C. do not have, significantly, literati; in spite of its schools and universities Washington is not a city of great intellectual functions. In respect to this lack, New Delhi and Washington, D.C., belong with cities with predominantly economic functions. On the other hand, not a few old cities with economic functions have also the functions associated with the literati (Florence, medieval Timbuktu, Thebes).

We have taken into consideration, in this expanded grouping, both cities of the modern era and cities of the time before the development of a world economy. It may be useful now to separate the two historic periods, retaining the distinction between cities of the literati, cities of entrepreneurs, and cities of the bureaucracy. The following grouping results :

BEFORE THE UNIVERSAL OEKUMENE (pre-industrial revolution, pre-Western expansion)

1. Administrative-cultural cities.

   (cities of the literati and the indigenous bureaucracy)

   Peiping
   Lhasa
   Uaxactun
   Kyoto
   Lie`ge
   Allahabad (?)

2. Cities of native commerce

   (cities of the entrepreneur)

   Bruges
   Marseilles

Lubeck
Market towns of native West Africa
Early Canton

AFTER THE UNIVERSAL OEKUMENE (post-industrial revolution. and post-Western expansion)

3. Metropolis-cities of the world-wide managerial and entrepreneureal class (Park's 'cities of the main street of the world')

London
New York
Osaka
Yokohama
Shanghai
Singapore
Bombay

Lesser cities and towns, also carrying on the world's business, may be added here.

4. Cities of modern administration
(cities of the new bureaucracies)

Washington, D.C.
New Delhi
Canberra

A thousand administrative towns, county seats, seats of British and French African colonial administration, etc.

What is the relationship of such a grouping to our topic : the role of cities in processes of cultural change ?

The role of cities of Group 1 has already been stated. It is to carry forward, develop, elaborate a long-established local culture or civilization. These are cities that convert the folk cultural into its civilized dimension.

But the cities of groups 2,3, and 4 do not have, or do not have conspicuously and as their central effect, this role in the cultural process. They affect the cultural process in other ways. How ? They are cities in which one or both of the following things are true : (1) the prevailing relationships of people and the prevailing common understandings have to do

with the technical not the moral order,[14] with administrative regulation, business and technical convenience; (2) these cities are populated by people of diverse cultural origins removed from the indigenous seats of their cultures.

They are cities in which new states of mind, following from these characteristics, are developed and become prominent. The new states of mind are indifferent to or inconsistent with, or supersede or overcome, states of mind associated with local cultures and ancient civilizations. The intellectuals of these three groups of cities, if any, are intelligentsia rather than literati. [15] The distinction that is then basic to consideration of the cultural role of cities is the distinction between the *carrying forward into systematic and reflective dimensions an old culture* and the *creating of the original modes of thought that have authority beyond or in conflict with old cultures and civilizations.* We might speak of the orthogenetic cultural role of cities as contrasted with the heterogenetic cultural role.

In both these roles the city is a place in which cultural change takes place. The roles differ as to the character of the change. Insofar as the city has an orthogenetic role, it is not to maintain culture as it was; the orthogenetic city is not static; it is the place where religious, philosophical and literary specialists reflect, synthesize and create out of the traditional material new arrangements and developments that are felt by the people to be outgrowths of the old. What is changed is a further statement of what was there before. Insofar as the city has a heterogenetic role, it is a place of differing traditions, a center of heresy, heterodoxy and dissent, of interruption and destruction of ancient tradition, of rootlessness and anomy. Cities are both these things, and the same events may appear to particular people or groups to be representative of heterogenesis. The predominating trend may by in one of the two directions, and so allow us to characterize the city, or that phase of the history of the city, as the one or the other. The lists just given

14 Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, Chap, 3.

15 Ibid., Chap. 3.

suggest that the differences in the degree to which in the city orthogenesis or heterogenesis prevails are in cases strongly marked.

The presence of the market is not of itself a fact of heterogenetic change. Regulated by tradition, maintained by such customs and routines as develop over long periods of time, the market may flourish without heterogenetic change. In the medieval Muslim town we see an orthogenetic city ; the market and the keeper of market submitted economic activities to explicit cultural and religious definition of the norms. In Western Guatemala the people who come to market hardly communicate except with regard to buying and selling and the market has little heterogenetic role. On the other hand the market in many instances provides occasion when men of diverse traditions may come to communicate and to differ; and also in the market cacurs that exchange on the basis of universal standards of utility which is neutral to particular moral orders and in some sense hostile to all of them. The cities of Group 2, therefore, are cities unfavourable to orthogenetic change but not necessarily productive of heterogenetic hange.

The City and the Folk Society[16]

The folk society may be conceived as that imagined combination of societal elements which would characterize a long-established, homogeneous, isolated and non-literate integral (self-contained) community ; the folk culture is that society seen as a system of common understandings. Such a society can be approximately realized in a tribal band or village ; it cannot be agproximately realized in a city. What are characteristics of the city that may be conceived as a contrast to those of the folk society ?

The city may be imagined as that community in which orthogenetic and heterogenetic transformations of the folk society have most fully occurred. The former has brought about the Great Tradition and its special intellectual class,

[16] Robert Redfield, 'The Natural History of the Folk Society, *Social Forces*, Vol. 31 (1953), pp, 224-28.

administrative officers and rules closely derived from the moral and religious life of the local culture, and advanced economic institutions, also obedient to these local cultural controls. The heterogenetic transformations have accomplished the freeing of the intellectual, esthetic, economic and political life from the local moral norms, and have developed on the one hand an individuated expediential motivation, and on the other a revolutionary, nativistic, humanistic, or ecumenical viewpoint, now directed toward reform, progress and designed change.

As these two aspects of the effects of the city on culture may be in part incongruent with each other, and as in fact we know them to occur in different degrees and arrangements in particular cities, we may now review the classification of cities offered abave so as to recognize at least two types of cities conceived from this point of view :

A. *The city of orthogenetic transformation : the city of the moral order* ; the city of the culture carried forward. In the early civilizations the first cities were of this kind and usually combined this developmental cultural function with political power and administrative control. But it is to be emphasized that this combination occurred because the local moral and religious norms prevailed and found intellectual development in the literati and exercise of control of the community in the rural and the laws. Some of these early cities combined these two 'functions' with commerce and economic production ; others had little of these. It is as cities of predominating orthogenetic civilization that we are to view Peiping, Lhasa, Uaxactun, fourteenth-century Lie`ge.

B. *The city of haterogenetic transformation : the city of the technical order* ; the city where local cultures are disintegrated and new integrations of mind and society are developed of the kind described above ('The heterogenetic role of cities'). In cities of this kind men are concerned with the market, with 'rational' organization of producton of goods, with expediential relations between buyer and seller, ruler and ruled, and native and foreigner. In this kind of city the predominant social types are businessmen, administrators alien to those they administer, and rebels, reformers, plauners and plotters of many

varieties. It is in cities of this kind that priority comes to be given to economic growth and the expansion of power among the goods of life. The modern metropolis exhibits very much of this aspect of the city ; the town built in the tropics by the United Fruit Company and the city built around the Russian uranium mine must have much that represents it ; the towns of the colonial administration in Africa must show many of its features. Indeed, in one way or another, all the cities of groups 2, 3, and 4 (*supra*) are cities of the technical order, and are cities favorable to heterogenetic transformation of the moral order.[17]

This type of city may be subdivided into the administrative city, city of the bureaucracy (Washington, D. C., Canberra), and the city of the entrepreneur (Hamburg, Shanghai). Of course many cities exhibit both characteristics.

'In every tribal settlement there is civilization ; in every city is the folk society.' We may look at any city and see within it the folk society insofar as ethnic communities that make it up preserve folklike characteristics, and we may see in a town in ancient Mesopotamia or in aboriginal West Africa a half-way station between folk society and orthogenetic civilization. We may also see in every city its double urban characteristics : we may identify the institutions and mental habits there prevailing with the one or the other of the two lines of transformation of folk life which the city brings about. The heterogenetic transformation have grown with the course of history. and the developments of peoples and especially those incident to the expansion of the West, have increased and accelerated this aspect of urbanization. The later cities are predominantly cities of the technical order. We see almost side by side persisting cities of the moral order and those of the technical order : Peiping and Shanghai, Cuxco and Guaya-

17 In the heterogenetic transformation the city and its hinterland become mutually involved : the conservative or reactionary prophet in the country inveighs against the innovations or backslidings of the city ; and the reformer with the radically progressive message moves back from Medina against Mecca, or enters Jerusalem.

quil, a native town in Nigeria and an administrative post and railway center hard by.

The ancient city, predominantly orthogenetic, was not (as remarked by W. Eberhard) in particular cases the simple outgrowth of a single pre-civilized culture, but was rather (as in the case of Loyang) a city in which conquered and conqueror lived together, the conqueror extending his tradition over the conquered, or accepting the latter's culture. What makes the orthogenetic aspect of a city is the integration and uniform interpretation of preceding culture, whether its origins be one or several. Salt Lake City and early Philadelphia, cities with much orthogenetic character, were established by purposive acts of founders. Salt Lake City created its own hinterland on the frontier (as pointed out by C. Harris). Other variations on the simple pattern of origin and development of a city from an established folk people can no doubt be adduced.

Transformation of Folk Societies : Primary Urbanization and Secondary Urbanization

The preceding account of different types of cities is perhaps satisfactory as a preliminary, but their cultural roles in the civilizations which they represent cannot be fully understood except in relation to the entire pattern of urbanization within that civilization, i.e., the number, size, composition, distribution, duration, sequence, morphology, function, rates of growth and decline, and the relation to the countryside and to each other of the cities within a civilization. Such information is rare for any civilization. In the present state of our knowledge it may be useful to guide further inquiry by assuming two hypothetical patterns of urbanization : primary and secondary.[18] In the primary phase a precivilized folk society is transformed by urbanization into a peasant society and correlated urban center. It is primary in the sense that the peoples making up the precivilized folk more or less share a common culture which remains the matrix too for the peasant and urban

18 This distinction is an extension of the distinction between the primary and secondary phases of folk transformations in R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, p. 41.

cultures which develop from it in the course of urbanization. Such a development, occurring slowly in communities not radically disturbed, tends to produce a 'sacred culture' which is gradually transmuted by the *literati* of the cities into a 'great tradition.' Primary urbanization thus takes place almost entirely within the framework of a core culture that develops as the local cultures become urbanized and transformed, into an indigenous civilization. This core culture dominates the civilization despite occasional intrusions of foreign peoples and cultures. When the encounter with other peoples and civilizations is too rapid and intense and indigenous civilization may be destroyed by de-urbanization or be variously mixed with other civilizations.[19]

This leads to the secondary pattern of urbanization : the case in which a folk society, precivilized, peasant, or partly urbanized, is further urbanized by contact with peoples of widely different cultures from that of its own members. This comes adout through expansion of a local culture, now partly urbanized, to regions inhabited by peoples of different cultures, or by the invasion of a culture-civilization by alien colonists or conquerors. This secondary pattern produces not only a new form of urban life in some part in conflict with local folk cultures but also new social types in both city and country. In the city appear 'marginal' and 'cosmopolitan' men and an 'intelligentsia' ; in the country various types of marginal folk : enclaved-, minority-, imperialized, transplanted-; remade-, quasi-folk, etc., depending on the kind of relation to the urban center.

This discussion takes up a story of the contact of peoples at the appearance of cities. But, here parenthetically, it is necessary to note that even before the appearance of cities the relations between small and primitive communities may be seen as on the one hand characterized by common culture and on the other by mutual usefulness with awareness of cultural difference. The 'primary phase of urbanization' is a continuation of the extension of common culture from a small primitive

[19] Kirchhoff, *op. cit.*

settlement to a town and its hinterland, as no doubt could be shown for parts of West Africa. The 'secondary phase of urbanization' is begun, before cities, in the institutions of travel and trade among local communities with different cultures. In Western Guatemala today simple Indian villagers live also in a wider trade-community of pluralistic cultures ; [20] we do not know to what extent either the pre-Columbian semi-urban centers or the cities of the Spanish-modern conquerors and rulers, have shaped this social system ; it may be that these people were already on the way to secondary urbanization before any native religious and political center rose to prominence.

While we do not know universal sequences within primary or secondary urbanization, it is likely that the degree to which any civilization is characterized by patterns of primary or secondary urbanization depends on the rate of technical development and the scope and intensity of contact with other cultures. If technical development is slow and the civilization is relatively isolated, we may expect to find a pattern of primary urbanization prevailing. If, on the other hand, technical development is rapid and contacts multiple and intense, secondary urbanization will prevail.

It may be that in the history of every civilization there is, of necessity, secondary urbanization. In modern Western civilization conditions are such as to make secondary urbanization the rule. But even in older civilizations it is not easy to find clear-cut examples of primary urbanization—because of multiple interactions, violent fluctuations in economic and military fortunes, conflicts and competition among cities and dynasties, and the raids of nomads. The Maya before the Spanish Conquest are perhaps a good example of primary urbanization.[21] The cases of the Roman, Greek, Hindu,

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20 R. Redfield, 'Primitive Merchants of Guatemala,' *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1939, pp. 48-49,

21 R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, pp. 58-73. See also Morely, *The Ancient Maya*, and Thomas Gann and J. Eric Thompson, *The History of the Maya*, New York, 1931.

Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, although characterized by distinctive indigenous civilizations, are nevertheless complex because little is known about the degree of cultural homogeneity of the peoples who formed the core cultures and because as these civilizations became imperial they sought to assimilate more and more diverse peoples. Alternatively the irritant 'seed' of a city may have been sown in some of them by the conquering raid of an outside empire, the desire to copy another empire in having a capital, or simple theft from another people—with the *Subsequent* development around this seed of the 'pearl' of a relatively indigenous, primary urban growth, sending out its own imperial secondary strands in due time. Thus while Rome, Athens, Chang-An and Loyang in early China and Peiping in later, Pataliputra and Banaras, Memphis and Thebes, Nippur and Ur, may have been for a time at least symbolic vehicles for loyalty to the respective empires and indigenous civilizations, it was not these relatively 'orthogenetic' cities but the mixed cities on the periphery of an empire — the 'colonial cities' which carried the core culture to other peoples. And in such cities, usually quite mixed in character, the imperial Great Tradition was not only bound to be very dilute but would also have to meet the challenge of conflicting local traditions. At the imperial peripheies, primary urbanization turns into secondary urbanization. [22]

Similar trends can be perceived in modern times : Russian cities in southern Europe and Asia appear to be very mixed,[23]

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[22] The case of China is particularly striking, since the evidence for a dominant core culture is unmistakable but its relation to local cultures which may have been its basis is unknown. See Chi Li, *The Formation of the Chinese People*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928, and Wolfram Eberhard, *Early Chinese Cultures and their Development*, Smithsonian Institution Annual Report, 1937, Washington, 1938.

For a good study of imperial 'spread' and 'dilution,' see A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*, Oxford, 1940.

[23] Chauncy Harris, 'Ethnic groups in cities of the Soviet Union, *Geog. Rev.*, 1945.

non-Arabic Muslim cities have developed in Africa and South Asia, and the colonial cities of the European power admit native employees daily at the doors of their skyscraper banks. Possibly the nuclear cultures are homogeneous and create indigenous civilizations but as they expand into new areas far afield from the home cultures they have no choice but to build 'heterogenetic' cities.

Modern 'colonial' cities (e.g., Jakarta, Manila, Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Calcutta) raise the interesting question whether they can reverse from the 'heterogenetic' to the 'orthogenetic' role. For the last one hundred or more years they have developed as the outposts of imperial civilizations, but as the countries in which they are located achieve political independence, will the cities change their cultural roles and contribute more to the formation of a civilization indigenous to these areas? Many obstacles lie in the path of such a course. These cities have large, culturally diverse populations, not necessarily European, for example, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, Muslims and Hindu refugees from faraway provinces, in India; they often have segregated ethnic quarters, and their established administrative, military and economic functions are not easily changed. Many new problems have been created by a sudden influx of postwar refugee populations, and the cities' changing positions in national global political and economic systems. While many of these colonial cities have been centers of nationalism and of movements for revival of the local cultures, they are not likely to live down their 'heterogenetic' past.[24]

The Cultural Consequences of Primary and Secondary Urbanization

The discussion of primary and secondary urbanization above has been a bare outline. It may be filled in by reference

[24] D, W. Fryer, 'The "million city" in Southeast Asia,' *Geog. Rev*, Oct. 1953; J. E. Spencer, 'Changing Asiatic cities,' *Geog. Rev.*, Vol. 41 (1951), This last is a summary of an article by Jean Chesneaux. See also *Record of the XXVIIth Meeting of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations*, Brussels, 1952, esp. papers by R. W. Steel and K. Neys.

to some postulated consequences of each type of process. The most important cultural consequence of primary urbanization is the transformation of the Little Tradition into a Great Tradition. Embodied in 'sacred books' or 'classics,' sanctified by a cult, expressed in monuments, sculpture, painting, and architecture, served by the other arts and sciences, the Great Tradition becomes the core culture of an indigenous civilization and a source, consciously examined, for defining its moral, legal, aesthetic and other cultural norms. A Great Tradition describes a way of life and as such is a vehicle and standard for those who share it to identify with one another as members of a common civilization. In terms of social structure, a significant event is the appearance of literati, those who represent the Great Tradition. The new forms of thought that now appear and extend themselves include reflective and systematic thought ; the definition of fixed idea-systems (theologies, legal codes) ; the development of esoteric or otherwise generally inaccessible intellectual products carried forward, now in part separate from the tradition of the folk ; and the creation of intellectual and aesthetic forms that are both traditional and original (cities of the Italian Renaissance ; development of 'rococo' Maya sculpture in the later cities).

In government and administration the orthogenesis of urban civilization is represented by chiefs, rulers and laws that express and are closely controlled by the norms of the local culture. The chief of the Crow Indians, in a pre-civilized society, and the early kings of Egypt. were of this type. The Chinese emperor was in part orthogenetically controlled by the heterogenetic development. The Roman pro-consul and the Indian Service of the United States, especially in certain phases, were more heterogenetic political development.

Economic institutions of local cultures and civilizations may be seen to be orthogenetic insofar as the allocation of resources to production and distribution for consumption are determined by the traditional system of status and by the traditional specific local moral norms. The chief's yam house in the Trobriands is an accumulation of capital determined by

these cultural factors. In old China the distribution of earning and 'squeeze' were distributed according to familial obligations : these are orthogenetic economic institutions and practices. The market, freed from controls of tradition, status and moral rule, becomes the world-wide heterogenetic economic institution.

In short, the trend of primary urbanization is to co-ordinate political, economic, educational, intellectual and aesthetic activity to the norms provided by the Great Traditions.

The general consequence of secondary urbanization is the weakening or supercession of the local and traditional cultures by states of mind that are incongruent with those local cultures. Among these are to be recognized :

1. The rise of a consensus appropriate to the technical order : i.e., based on self-interest and pecuniary calculation, or on recognition of obedience to common impersonal controls, characteristically supported by sanctions of force. (This in contrast to a consensus based on common religious and non-expediential moral norms). There is also an autonomous development of norms and standards for the arts, crafts, and sciences.

2. The appearance of new sentiments of common cause attached to groups drawn from culturally heterogeneous backgrounds. In the city proletariats are formed and class or ethnic consciousness is developed, and also new professional and territorial groups. The city is the place where ecumenical religious reform is preached (though it is not originated there). It is the place where nationalism flourishes. On the side of social structure the city is the place where new and larger groups are formed that are bound by few and powerful common interests and sentiments in place of the complexly interrelated roles and statuses that characterize the groups of local, long established culture. Among social types that appear in this aspect of the cultural process in the city are the reformer, the agitator, the nativistic or nationalistic leader, the tyrant and his assassin, the missionary and the imported school teacher.

3. The instability of viewpont as to the future, and emphasis on prospective rather than retrospective view of man in the universe. In cities of predominantly orthogenetic

influence, people look to a future that will repeat the past (either by continuing it or by bringing it around again to its place in the cycle). In cities of predominantly heterogenetic cultural influence there is a disposition to see the future as different from the past. It is this aspect of the city that gives rise to reform movements, forward-looking myths, and planning, revolutionary or melioristic. The forward-looking may be optimistic and radically reformistic ; it may be pessimistic, escapist, defeatist, or apocalyptic. In the city there are Utopias and couter-Utopias. Insofar as these new states of mind are secular, worldly, they stimulate new political and social aspiration and give rise to policy.

Consequences for World View, Ethos, and Typical Personality

The difference in the general cutural consequences of primary and secondary urbanization patterns may be summarily characterized by saying that in primary urbanization, all phases of the technical order (material technology, economy, government, arts, crafts, and sciences) are referred, in theory at least, to the standards and purposes of a moral order delineated in the Great Tradition, whereas in secondary urbanization different phases of the technical order are freed from this reference and undergo accelerated autonomous developments. With respect to this development, the moral order, or rather orders, for there are now many competing ones, appears to lag.[25]

There is another way of describing these differences : in terms of the consequences of the two kinds of urbanization for changes in world view, ethos, and typical personality.[26] To describe the consequences in these terms is to describe them in their bearings and meanings for the majority of individual selves constituting the society undergoing urbanization. We now ask, how do primary and secondary urbanization affect

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25 R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and its Transformations*, pp. 72-83.

26 For a further discussion of these concepts, see Redfield, *ibid.*, Chap. 4, and R. Redfield, *The Little Community*, University of Chicago Press, 1955, Chaps. 5 and 6 on personality and mental outlook.

mental outlook, values and attitudes, and personality traits ? These are in part psychological questions, for they direct our attention to the psychological aspects of broad cultural processes.

There are many accounts of the psychological consequences of urbanization. These have described the urban outlook, ethos, and personality as depersonalized, individualized emotionally shallow and atomized, unstable, secularized, blase, rationalistic, cosmopolitan, highly differentiated, self-critical, time-coordinated, subject to sudden shifts in mood and fashion, 'other-directed,' etc.[27] The consensus in these descriptions and their general acceptance by social scientists seem great enough to indicate that there probably is a general psychological consequence of urbanization, although it cannot be precisely described and proven. We should, however, like to suggest that the 'urban way of life' that is described in the characterizations to which we refer is primary a consequence of secondary urbanization and of that in a particular critical stage when personal and cultural disorganization are greatest. To see these consequences in perspective, it is necessary to relate them on the one hand to the consequences of primary urbanization and on the other to those situations of secondary urbanization that produce new forms of personal and cultural integration. Most of all it is necessary to trace the continuities as well as the discontinuities in outlook, values, and personality, as we trace the transformation of folk societies into their civilized dimension. The 'peasant' is a type that represents an adjustment between the values of the precivilized tribe and those of the urbanite. The 'literati' who fashion a Great Tradition do

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27 See L. Wirth, 'Urbanism as a way of life,' and G. Simmel, 'The metropolis and mental life,' both reprinted in Hatt and Reiss, *Reader in Urban Sociology ;* E. Fromm, *Escape from Freedom,* David Riesman and collaborators, *The Lonely Crowd,* and A. Kroeber, *Anthropology,* 1948, sec. 121. For the effects of urban life on time-coordination, see H. A. Hawley, *Human Ecology,* Chap. 15, and P. Hallowell, 'Temporal orientations in western and non-western cultures,' (?), *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 39, 1937.

not repudiate the values and outlook of their rural hinterland but systematize and elaborate them under technical specialization. The cosmopolitan 'intelligentsia' and 'sophists' of the metropolitan centers have a prototype in the 'heretic' of the indigenous civilization. And even the most sophisticated urban centers are not without spiritualists, astrologers and other practitioners with links to a folk-like past.[28]

The connections between the folk culture, the Great Tradition, and the sophisticated culture of the heterogenetic urban centers can be traced not only in the continuities of the historical sequence of a particular group of local cultures becoming urbanized and de-urbanized, but they also can be traced in the development of two distinct forms of cultural consciousness which appear in these transformations.

Cultural Integration between City and Country

From what has been said about primary and secondary urbanization it follows that city and country are more closely integrated, culturally, in the primary phases of urbanization than in the secondary phase. Where the city has grown out of a local culture, the country people see its ways as in some important part a form of their own, and they feel friendlier toward the city than do country people ruled by a proconsul from afar. 'The stereotype of 'the wicked city' will be stronger in the hinterlands of the heterogenetic cities than in those of the orthogenetic cities. Many of these are sacred centers of faith, learning, justice and law.

Nevertheless, even in primary urbanization a cultural gap tends to grow between city and country. The very formation

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[28] R. Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chap. 11 ; R. E. Park, 'Magic, Mentality, and City Life,' reprinted in Park, *Human Communities*.

N. C. Chaudhuri, *The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*, Macmillan, 1951, gives some interesting observations on the survival of 'folk' beliefs and practices among the people of Calcutta, pp. 361-62.

P. Masson-Oursel, 'La Sophistique. Etude de philosophi compare'e,' *Revue de metaphysique et de morale*, 23 (1916), pp. 343-62.

of the Great Tradition introduces such a gap. The *literati* of the city develop the values and world view of the local culture to a degree of generalization, abstraction and complexity incomprehensible to the ordinary villager, and in doing so leave out much of the concrete local detail of geography and village activity. The Maya Indian who lived in some rural settlement near Uaxactun could not have understood the calendrical intricacies worked out in that shrine-city by the priests ; and the rituals performed at the city-shrine had one high level of meaning for the priest and another lower meaning, connecting with village life at some points only, for the ordinary Indian.

On the other hand, primary urbanization involves the development of characteristic institutions and societal feature that hold together, in a certain important measure of common understanding, the Little Tradition and the Great Tradition. We may refer to the development of these institutions and societal features as the universalization of cultural consciousness—meaning by 'universalization,' the preservation and extension of common understanding as the meaning and purpose of life, and sense of belonging together, to all the people, rural or urban, of the larger community. Some of the ways in which this universalization takes place are suggested in the following paragraphs. The examples are taken chiefly from India ; they probably have considerable cross-cultural validity.

1. The embodiment of the Great Tradition in 'sacred books' and secondarily in sacred monuments, art, icons, etc. Such 'sacred scriptures' may be in a language not widely read or understood ; nevertheless they may become a fixed point for the worship and ritual of ordinary people. The place of the 'Torah' in the lives of orthodox Jews, the Vedas among orthodox Hindus, the 'Three Baskets' for Buddhists, the thirteen classics for Confucianists, the Koran for Muslims, the stelae and temples of the ancient Maya, are all examples of such sacred scriptures, although they may vary in degree of sacredness and in canonical status.

2. The development of a special class of 'literati' (priests, rabbis, Imams, Brahmins) who have the authority to read,

interpret, and comment on the sacred scriptures. Thus the village Brahmin who reads the *Gita* for villagers at ceremonies mediates a part of the Great Tradition of Hinduism for them.

The mediation of a great tradition is not always this direct. At the village level it may be carried in a multitude of ways—by the stories parents and grandparents tell children, by professional reciters and story-tellers, by dramatic performances and dances, songs and proverbs, etc.

In India the epics and *puranas* have been translated into the major regional languages and have been assimilated to the local cultures. This interaction of a Great Tradition and the Little Tradition of local and regional cultures needs fnrther study, especially in terms of the professional and semi-professional mediators' of the process.

3. The role of leading personalities who because they themselves embody or know some aspects of a Great Tradition succeed through their personal position as leaders in mediating a Great Tradition to the masses of people. There is vivid account of this process in Jawarhalal Nehru's *Discovery of India*, in which he describes first how he 'discovered' the Great Tradition of India in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro and other archeological monuments, her sacred rivers and holy cities, her literature, philosophy, and history. and then he describes how he discovered the Little Traditions of the people and the villages, and how through his speeches he conveyed to them a vision of *Bharat Mata*—Mother India—that transcended the little patches of village land, people, and customs.[29]

4. Nehru's account suggests the actual physical places, buildings and monuments—especially as they become places of sacred or patriotic pilgrimage—are important means to a more universalized cultural consciousness and the spread of a Great Tradition. In India this has been and still is an especially important universalizing force. The sanctity of rivers and the purifying powers of mater go all the way back to the Rig Veda. The Buddhists—who may have started the practice of holy

[29] Jawarharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, John Day, New York, 1946, pp. 37-40, 45-51.

pilgrimages—believed that there were four places that the believing man should visit with awe and reverence : Buddha's birth place, the site where he attained illumination or perfect insight, the place where the mad elephant attacked him, and the place where Buddha died. In the *Mahabharata*, there is a whole book on the subject of holy places (Aranyaka book). Even a sinner who is purified by holy water will go to heaven. And the soul ready for *moksha* will surely achieve it if the pilgrim dies on a pilgrimage.[30] Today the millions of pilgrims who flock to such preeminent holy spots as Allahabad or Banaras create problems of public safety and urban overcrowding, but they, like Nehru, are also discovering the *Bharat Mata* beyond their villages.

In India 'sacred geography' has also played an important part in determining the location and layout of villages and cities and in this way has created a cultural continuity between countryside and urban centers. In ancient India, at least, every village and every city had a 'sacred center' with temple, tank, and garden. And the trees and plants associated with the sacred shrine were also planted in private gardens, for the households too had their sacred center ; the house is the 'body' of a spirit (Virata Purusha) just as the human body is the 'house' of the soul.[31]

At each of these levels—of household, village, and city—

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[30] D. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vayu Purana*, Poona, 1946, Appendix B.

C. P. V' Ayyar, *Town Planning in the Ancient Dekkan*, Madras, no date, with an introduction by Patrick Geddes. See also Patrick Geddes in *India*, ed. J. Tyrwhitt London, 1947.

N. V. Ramanayya, *An Essay on the Origin of the South Indian Temple*, Madras, 1930, and Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Calcutta, 1946.

H. Rao, 'Rural habitation in South India,' *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, 14.

J. M. Linton Bogle, *Town Planning in India*, Oxford University Press, 1929.

Mudgett and others, *Banaras : Outline of a Master Plan*, prepared by Town and Village Planning Office, Lucknow.

the 'sacred center' provides the forum, the vehicle, and the content for the formation of distinct cultural identities — of families, village, and city. But as individuals pass outward, although their contacts with others become less intimate and less frequent, they nevertheless are carried along by the continuity of the 'sacred centers,' feeling a consciousness of a single cultural universe where people hold the same things sacred, and where the similarities of civic obligations in village and city to maintain tanks, build public squares, plant fruit trees, erect platforms and shrines, is concrete testimony to common standards of virtue and responsibility.

Surely such things as these—a 'sacred scripture', and a sacred class to interpret it, leading personalities, 'sacred geography' and the associated rites and ceremonies — must in any civilization be important vehicles for the formation of that common cultural consciousness from which a Great Tradition is fashioned and to which it must appeal if it is to stay alive. It is in this sense that the universalization of cultural consciousness is a necessary ingredient in its formation and maintenance. Moreover, as the discussion of the role of 'sacred geography' in the formation of Hinduism has intimated, this process does not begin only at the point where the villager and the urbanite merge their distinct cultural identities in a higher identity, but is already at work at the simpler levels of family, caste and village, and must play an important part in the formation and maintenance of the Little Tradition at these levels. [32]

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[32] See Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, 1955, Chap. 8, on the Little Community within Communities'.

In addition to the above factors, it has been usual to single out special items of content of the world view and values of a Great Tradition as explanations of the 'Universalization' of Great Traditions. It has been frequently argued, e. g., that religions which are monotheistic and sanction an 'open class' social system will appeal more to ordinary people and spread faster than those which are polytheistic and which sanction 'caste' systems. (See e.g., H. J. Kissling, 'The sociological and educational role of the Dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire,' in G. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Studies*

The integration of city and country in the secondary phase of urbanization cannot rest on a basic common cultural consciousness or a common culture, for there is none. Rural-urban integration in this phase of urbanization rests primarily on the mutuality of interests and on the 'symbiotic' relations that have often been described.[33] The city is a 'service station' and amusement center for the country, and the country is a 'food basket' for the city. But while the diversity of cultural groups and the absence of a common culture makes the basis of the integration primarily technical, even this kind of integration requires a kind of cultural consciousness to keep it going. We

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in Islamic Cultural History.) F. S. C. Northrop and Arnold Toynbee both attach great importance to the ideological content of cultures as factors in their spread, although they come out with different results. It may be that such special features of content are important in the formation and spread of some particular religions at some particular time, but it is doubtful that they would have the same role in different civilizations under all circumstances. In his recent study of the Coorgs of South India, Srinivas argues with considerable plausibility that the spread of Hinduism on an all-India basis has depended on its polytheism, which has made it easy to incorporrte all sorts of alien deities, and on a caste system which assimilates every new cultural or ethnic group as a special caste.

Another difficulty about using special features of content of some particular tradition as a general explanation of the formation and maintenance of any Great Tradition is that one inevitably selects features that have been crystallized only after a long period of historical development and struggle. These are more relevant as factors in explaining *further* development and spread than they are in explaining the cultural-psychological processes that have accompained primary urbanization. The 'universalization' of universal faiths takes us into the realm of secondary urbanization where diverse and conflicting cultures must be accommodated.

33 R. E. Park, 'Symbiosis and socialization : a frame of reference for the study of society,' reprinted in *Human Communities*, Free Press, Glencoe, 1952.

refer to the consciousness of cultual differences and the feeling that certain forms of inter-cultural association are of great enough benefit to override the repugnance of dealing with 'foreigners'. We may call this an 'enlargement of cultural horizons' sufficient to become aware of other cultures and of the possibility that one's own society may in some ways require their presence. To paraphrase Adam Smith, it is not to the interest of the (Jewish) baker, the (Turkish) carpet-dealer, the (French) hand laundry, that the American Christian customer looks when he patronizes them, but to his own.

This is the practical psychological basis for admission of the stranger and tolerance of foreign minorities, even at the level of the folk society.[34] In a quotation from the *Institution of Athens*, which Toynbee has, perhaps ironically, titled 'Liberte'-Egalite'-Fraternite',' we are told that the reason why Athens has 'extended the benefits of Democracy to the relations between slaves and freemen and between aliens and citizens' is that 'the country requires permanent residence of aliens in her midst on account both of the multiplicity of trades and of her maritime activities'[35]

When all or many classes of a population are culturally strange to each other and where some of the city populations are culturally alien to the country populations, the necessity for an enlarged cultural consciousness is obvious. In secieties where social change is slow, and there has developed an adjustment of mutual usefulness and peaceful residence side by side of groups culturally different but not too different, the culturally complex society may be relatively stable.[36] But where urban development is great, such conditions are apt to be unstable.

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[34] R. Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, pp. 33-34, for the institutionalization of hospitality to strangers in peasant societies.

[35] Arnold Toynbee, *Greek Civilization and Character*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1950, pp. 48-49. See also David G. Mandelbaum, 'The Jewish way of life in Cochin,' *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 1 (1939).

[36] Redfield, 'Primitive Merchants of Guatemala.'

Each group may be perpetullay affronted by the beliefs and practices of the other groups. Double standards of morality will prevail, since each cultural group will have one code for its 'own kind' and another for the 'outsiders'. This simultaneous facing both inward and outward puts a strain on both codes. There may then be present the drives to proselytize, to withdraw and dig in, to persecute and to make scapegoats ; there may even be fear of riot and massacre. In such circumstances the intellectuals become the chief exponents of a 'cosmoplitan' enlarged cultural consciousness, inventing formulas of universal toleration and the benefits of mutual understanding, and extolling the freedom to experiment in different ways of life. But they do not always prevail against the more violent and unconvinced crusaders for some brand of cultural purity.

In primary urbanization when technical development was quite backward, a common cultural consciousness did get formed. The travelling student, teacher, saint, pilgrim or even humble villager who goes to the next town may be startled by strange and wonderful sights, but throughout his journey he is protected by the compass of the common culture from cultural shock and disorientation. In ancient times students and teachers come from all over India and from even distant counteries to study at Taxila, just as they come from all over Greece to Athens. In secondary urbanization, especially under modern conditions, technical developments in transportation, travel and communication enormously facilitate and accelerate cultural contacts. The effects of this on common cultural consciousness are not easy briefly to characterize. They make the more tradition cultural differences less important. They provide a wide basis of common understanding with regard to the instruments and practical means of living. It is at least clear that the integration of country and city that results is not the same kind of sense of common purpose in life that was provided to rural-urban peoples through the institutions mediating Little and Great Traditions referred to above. At this point the enquiry approaches the questions currently asked about the 'mass culture' of modern great societies.

Cities as Centers of Cultural Innovation, Diffusion, and Progress

It is a commonly stated view that the city rather than the country is the source of cultural innovations, that such innovations diffuse outward from city to country, and that the 'spread' is more or less inverse to distance from the urban center.[37] The objection to this view is not that it is wrong—for there is much evidence that would seem to support it—but that the limits and conditions of its validity need to be specified. It seems to assume for example that in the processes of cultural change, innovation, and diffusion, 'city' and 'country' are fixed points of reference which do not have histories, or interact, and are not essentially related to larger contexts of cultural change. Yet such assumptions—if ever true—would hold only under the most exceptional and short-run conditions. It is one thing to say that a large metropolitan city is a 'center' of cultural innovation and diffusion for its immediate hinterland at a particular time ; it is another to ask how that center itself was formed, over how long a period and from what stimuli. In other words, as we enlarge the time span, include the rise and fall of complex distributions of cities, allow for the mutual interactions between them and their hinterlands, and

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[37] P. Sorokin and C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, Chap. 17, 'The role of the city and the country in innovation, disruption, and preservation of the national culture.'

G. Chabot, 'Les zones d' influence d'une ville,' *Congr. int. de Geog* , Paris, 1931, III, pp. 432-37.

Mark Jefferson, 'The law of the primate city,' *Geog. Rev.*, 1939, pp. 226-32.

O. H. K. Spate, 'Factors in the development of capital cities,' *Geog. Rev.*, 1942, pp.622-31.

R. E. Park, 'The urban community as a spatial pattern and a moral order.' 'News paper circulation and metropolitan regions', both reprinted in Park, *Human Communities*.

Hiller, 'Extension of urban characteristics into rural areas,' *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 6 (1941).

also take account of interactions with other civilizations and their rural-urban patterns, we find that the processes of cultural innovation and 'flow' are far too complex to be handled by simple mechanical laws concerning the direction, rate, and 'flow' of cultural diffusion between 'city' and 'country.' The cities themselves are creatures as well as creators of this process, and it takes a broad cross-cultural perspective to begin to see what its nature is. While this perspective may not yield simple generalizations about direction and rates of cultural diffusion to widen the viewpoint as here suggested may throw some light on the processes of cultural change, including the formation and cultural 'influence' of cities.

In a primary phase of urbanization, when cities are developing from folk societies, it seems meaningless to assert, e. g., that the direction of cultural flow is from city to country. Under these conditions folk culture is transformed into an urban culture which is a specialization of it, and if we wish to speak of 'direction of flow' it would make more sense to see the process as one of a series of concentrations and nucleations within a common field. And as these concentrations occur, the common 'Little Tradition' has not become inert; in fact it may retain a greater vitality and disposition to change than the systematized Great Tradition that gets 'located' in special classes and in urban centers. From this point of view the spatial and mechanical concepts of 'direction' and 'rate' of flow, etc., are just metaphors of the processes involved in the formation of a Great Tradition. The cultural relations between city and country have to be traced in other terms, in terms of socio-cultural history and of cultural-psychological processes. Physical space and time may be important obstacles and facilitators to these processes but they are not the fundamental determinants of cultural 'motion' as they are of physical motion.

Under conditions of secondary urbanization, the spatial and mechanical concepts seem more appropriate because people and goods are more mobile and the technical development of the channels of transportation and communication is such as to permit highly precise measurement of their distributions and of

'flows.' But here too we may be measuring only some physical facts whose cultural significance remains indeterminate, or, at most, we may be documenting only a particularly recent cultural tendency to analyze intercultural relations in quantitative, abstract, and non-cultural terms. The assumption of a continuous and quantitatively divisible 'diffusion' from a fixed urban center is unrealistic.

We may see Canton or Caltutta as a center for the diffusion of Western culture into the 'East.' We may also see these cities as relatively recent metropolitan growths, beginning as minor outliers of Oriental civilizations and then attracting both foreign and also uprooted native peoples, varying in fortune with world-wide events, and becoming at last not so much a center for the introduction of Western ways as a center for nativistic and independence movements to get rid of Western control and dominance. 'Everything new happens at Canton', is said in China. We have in such a case not simple diffusion, or spread of urban influence from a city, but rather a cultural interaction which takes place against a background of ancient civilization with its own complex and changing pattern of urbanization now coming into contact with a newer and different civilization and giving rise to results that conform to neither.

The city may be regarded, but only very incompletely, as a center from which spreads outward the idea of progress. It is true that progress, like the ideologies of nationalism, socialism, communism, capitalism and democracy, tends to form in cities and it is in cities that the prophets and leaders of these doctrines are formed. Yet the states of mind of Oriental and African peoples are not copies of the minds of Western exponents of progress or of one or another political or economic doctrine. There is something like a revolution of mood and aspiration in the non-European peoples today.[38] The

[38] For further discussion of these concepts of 'mood,' 'aspiration' and 'policy' as they might figure in community studies, see R. Redfield, *The Little Community*, chapter on the Little Community as 'A History'.

Easterner revolts against the West; he does not just take what can be borrowed from a city; he does sometimes the opposite: the Dutch language is set aside in Indonesia; there, anthropology, because associated with Dutch rule, does not spread from any city but is looked on with suspicion as associated with Dutch rule. Moreover, the influence of the West does not simple move outward from cities; it leap-frogs into country regions; a city reformer in Yucatan, Carrillo Puerto, arouses village Indians to join his civil war for progress and freedom against landowners and townspeople; Marxists discover that revolution can be based on the peasants without waiting for the development of an industrial proletariat.[39]

The conception of progress is itself an idea shaped by and expressive of one culture or civilization, that of the recent West.[40] What Toynbee and other have called the 'Westernization' of the world may be the spread of only parts of the ideas associated in the West with the word 'progress'. Not without investigation can it be safely assumed that the spread of Western ideas from cities carries into the countryside a new and Western value system emphasizing hard work, enterprise, a favorable view of spcial change and a central faith in material prosperity. In the cases of some of the peoples affected by modern urbanization these values may be already present. In other cases the apparent spread of progress may turn out, on closer examination, to be a return to ancient values different from those of the West. Nationalistic movements are in part a nostalgic turning back to local traditional life. We shall understand better the varieties and complexities of the relations today between city and country as we compare the

[39] David Mitrany, *Marx against the Peasants*, London, 1952.

[40] See A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, Secs. 127, 128; Milton Singer, *Shame Cultures and Guilt Cultures*, for an examination of some of the evidence on this point for American Indian cultures. Also see R. Redfield, *A Village that Chose Progress*, esp. chapter 8, 'Chan Kom, Its Ethos and Success.' Recent material on cross-cultural comparisons of value systems will be found in Daryll Forde (ed.), *African Worlds*, and in the forthcoming publications of the Harvard Values Study Project directed by Clyde Kluckhohn.

values and world views of the modernizing ideologies, and those of the Little and Great Traditions of the cultures and civilizations that are affected by the modern West. It may be that such studies[41] will discover greater 'ambivalence' in the mood of modernize than we, here in the West, acknowledge ; that the progressive spirit of Asia and Africa is not simply a decision to walk the road of progressive convictions that we have traversed, but rather in significant part an effort of the so-called 'backward' peoples to recover from their disruptive encounters with the West by returning to the 'sacred centers' of their ancient indigenous civilizations.

41 Several such studies have been made. See, e.g., Paul Mus, *Viet-Nam, Sociologie l'histoire d'une guerre*, Paris, 1952 ; Shen-Yu Dai, *Mao Tse-Tung and Confucianism*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1952 ; E. Sarkisyanz, *Russian Weltanschauung Islamic and Buddhist Messianism*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953 (?). V. Barnouw, 'The Changing Character of a Hindu Festival,' *American Anthropologist*, February, 1954.

HAIR CHARACTER OF THE JUANG AND OTHER TRIBES OF ORISSA

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Introduction

THE phenomenon of 'Nachdunkeln or 'post-darkening' is said to be responsible for the change in the colour of human head hair from the child to the adult stage: But nothing is known clearly about the process. Our knowledge in this respect yet remains vague and no survey of this phenomenon has yet been made in this country.

For a detailed work of this nature and with a view to collecting hair samples, a survey was undertaken among the Juangs of Orrisa during February-March 1956. Although our main object of study was the Juang, we could not exclude the other tribal peoples who happened to be present at the time of examination.

Method of Study

The somatoscopic observations on hair were made along with other somatoscopic, somatometric and genetic characters on the Juang and other tribes of Orissa.

Observations on hair of each individual were made under three heads : (1) form, (2) texture and (3) colour. Each subject was examined in an open place under good light.

It has been found that the X and Y types of the Fischer-Saller scale, do not completely agree with the colour of head hair in this country, and as such two hair samples were chosen for this survey. They were obtained from a bazar in Bombay and comprised two shades only, which have numbered 1 and 2. No. 1 is darker than Y and almost equal to No. 27 of

TABLE 1

	Juang								Children							
	Male				Female				Savara		Gond		Khond		Santal	
	Adult		Children		Adult		Childrn		Male	Female	Male		Male		Male	
Hair Form	No. (68)	%	No. (47)	%	No. (10)	%	No. (12)	%	No. (57)	%	No. (9)	%	No. (22)	%	No. (18)	%	No. (13)	%
Leiotrichy																		
Smooth	24	35·28	24	51·06	8	80·00	9	75·00	31	54·38	6	66·67	10	45·46	10	55·56	8	61·54
Straight	12	17·64	6	12·76	1	10·00	...	...	8	14·03		...	6	27·27	1	5·55	1	7·69
Cymotrichy																		
Broad wave	20	29 39	15	31·91	1	10·00	1	8·33	15	26·31	3	33·33	6	27·27	7	38·39	4	30·76
Curly	10	14·70	2	4·25		...	1	8·33	2	3·50		...		...		...		...
Wavy & curly	2	3·00	...	...		...	1	8·33	1	1·75		...		...		...		...
Hair Texture																		
Coarse	18	26·47	6	12·77	4	40·00	1	8·33	1	1·75		...		...	1	5·55	3	23·07
Medium	47	69·12	24	51·06	6	60·00	10	83·34	35	61·40	7	77·78	17	77·27	12	66·67	5	38·46
Fine	3	4·41	16	34·03		...	1	8·33	21	36·84	2	22·22	5	22·73	5	27·78	5	38·46
Very fine	...	...	1	2·13		...	...	...	...	...		...		...		...		...
Hair Colour																		
1 (Dark)	54	79·41	18	38·30	7	70·00	4	33·33	24	42·10	4	44·44	9	40·91	8	44·44	5	38·46
2 (Reddish-brown)	14	20·59	27	57·44	3	30·00	8	66·66	31	54·38	4	44·44	13	59·09	10	55·56	7	53·84
Between 1									2	3·50	1	11·11		...		...	1	7·69
And 2	...	...	1	2·13	...	...	...	...		...		...		...		...		...
Much lighter																		
Than 2	...	...	1	2·13	...	...	...	...		...		...		...		...		...

Fischer's old scale. No. 2 is somewhat similar to X, but shows a distinctly reddish tinge. Samples of hair were also collected from a large number of persons and these will form the subject matter of a subsequent study.

The total data comprise Juang 137, Sabara 66, Gond 22, Khond 18, Santal 13. The adult data were obtained from among the Juangs only, while the others were collected from among children.

Table 1 shows the frequency of the various hair characters.

Juang Hair Form

It will be seen from Table 1 that among the adult male Juangs, the smooth type of hair occurs in the highest percentage. The same is observed in the case of children also. Straight hair occurs to the extent of 17·64% and 12·76% among adults and children respectively. Broad waves occur in almost equal percentages among the adult (29·39%) and children (31·91%). The percentage of curly hair in the case of children is 4·25 as against 14·7 among adults.

Females show a contrary picture, although the observations are based on very small samples and it is therefore difficult to form any conclusive opinion. It was found very difficult to subject Juang women to anthropometric observation.

The smooth type of hair has been found to occur in a much higher percentage among the females, both adults and children, than among males. Female children show a wider range of variability than adults, and the long hair of the adults being tied in the form of a knot at the back of the head may have caused some change in the hair form.

Juang Hair Texture

It will be seen from the table that the medium texture of hair appears to be highest among all the four groups of Juangs.

The coarse type of hair appears to be related with growth since in both the sexes it has been found that the children possess a lower percentage of it than adults.

Fine hair has been found to occur in the very high percen-

tage of 36·16 % among male children, while among male adults, it is only 4 41 %. It has been found in 8·33 % among female children.

Juang Hair Colour

The two hair samples used for reference worked very well in the case of adults. Dark hair colour is marked among the adults of both sexes whereas among children of both sexes the lighter shades occur in a higher frequency than the dark.

Comparison with other groups of children

In hair form it will be seen that smooth hair has been found in the highest frequency among all the groups. Gond children show the highest frequency of straight hair (27·27 %).

In hair texture, all the groups show the highest frequency of medium hair. The frequency of coarse hair among Santal children (27·07%) is however noteworthy. In hair colour also reddish brown predominates above dark hair.

The average age of the present children's groups is 10 and 8 years for the Juang males and females respectively, 10 and 8 years of the Savara males and females respectively, 13 years for the Gond, 12 years for the Khond, and 10 years for the Santal. The present data do not show any variation due to age.*

*Thanks are due to the Tribal Welfare Department of the Government of Orissa for providing all facilities of work and also for kindly deputing their research officer, Mr. Ajit Kishore Ray, who also carried on anthropometric work in the same area. Dr. S. S. Sarkar was also in the party, on behalf of the National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi, in connection with his own reaserches and was responsible for the overall guidance. The two hair samples used as a standard in the paper belong to his collection.

Thanks are also due to Prof. K P. Chattopadhayay, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, for his kind permission to work in the Laboratory.

A NOTE ON THE HIRA POTTERS OF ASSAM

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Introduction

ONE of the two castes who traditionally manufacture pottery in Assam is known as the Hira. They make pottery only by hand. It is also important that the industry is wholly a women's task among them. In Assam there are tribes like the Naga, among whom pottery is similarly made by women. The process has been briefly described by J. P. Mills in some of his monographs like *The Lhota Nagas* or *The Rengma Nagas*. Hand made pottery is also in use in Java and the Nicobar Islands[1].

In the present brief note, we shall try to describe the industry as observed in Lakhipur, the headquarters of the Mechpara zemindary in the district of Goalpara in Assam (26°22′N, 90°15′E). The quarter of the village occupied by them is known is Hirapara. There are at present altogether 35 families with a total population of approximately 200 individuals in this place.

The Hira potters occupy a lower status than the Kumars who manufacture pottery by means of the wheel. The Hiras are served by a special class of Brahmins, low in status, and not by those who serve the upper castes. Water is not accepted by upper caste people from the Hiras. It is also said that orthodox Hindu people, particularly widows who are very careful about ceremonial purity or impurity, do not use the vessels manufactured by them. But as the vessels made by the Hiras are stronger (because thicker ?) than those made by the

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1 J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* (Macmillan and Co , London, 1922), pp 40-41 and *The Rengma Nagas* (Macmillan and Co., London,1937),pp. 68-9,

I am indebted to Dr. S. S. Sarkar of the National Institute of Sciences of India for this information.

Kumars on the wheel, they are favoured by some people ; particularly because caste rules are becoming progressively weaker nowadays. The author was however told by the Hira in Lakhipur that they supply pottery to the zemindars of Mechpara for use in the worship of the goddess Durga in autumn. It must be remembered that the zemindars are Mech by caste. Most probably they were a tribal group before becoming Hinduized.

The Hiras themselves claim that they are higher in status than the Kumars ; and the proof adduced for this purpose is interesting. When a Kumar finishes his vessels on the wheel, he separates them from the parent lump of clay by means of a cotton string. This, they say, is like cutting the naval string when a human child is born. As the latter is the task of low-caste women, so the Kumars must also be looked upon as low-caste. The Hiras also say that they do not use the wheel for fear of lowering themselves in caste status, as it involves the task of cutting as at birth.

Materials and Preparation

A special type of clay is collected from the bed of the Dhamar *beel* or marsh, which lies two and a half miles east of Lakhipur. From the month of Paus (December-January) to Chaitra (March-April) men reach the wide stretch of water in boats in order to collect clay from spots which are known to them. The upper layer of mud is first removed and the right kind of clay is dug up from below by means of a widden stick.

The clay thus collected is preserved in pits (approximately 3 ft. × 4 ft. × 5 ft.) dug specially for this purpose at home. Each family has its own pit, which is kept covered by dry leaves and grass. Sand is also fetched from the river bed and stored in the same manner in other pits.

The clay and sand are mixed in nearly equal proportions ('16 annas of clay to 15 annas of sand', as the Hiras say) and water added to it. The lump is placed on a piece of stone and beaten by means of a wooden stick for thorough kneading.

Manufacture

The following types of pottery are manufactured by the Hira potters.

(1) *Jhonga :* A pitcher upto 2′ or 2′ 6″ in height used for brewing rice beer by neighbouring tribal peoples.

(2) *Kalah, Takeli, Ghati* (Assamese terms) : round bottomed watter vessels of different sizes.

(3) *Choru* (Assamese term) : a wide-mouthed bowl, 4 to 8 inches in height, with an open mouth which may be from 8 to 12 inches across. These may be flat or round-bottomed.

(4) *Mota :* Small round, wide-mouthed vessel, used for eating food.

(5) Miscellaneous objects like lids of vessels, or stands for incense.

While making a *jhonga*, a circular plate is first made by hand to serve as the base. A roll of clay more than an inch thick is laid like a circle on the edge of the plate, pressed by the fingers, and then another roll is laid on top and so on. For smoothening the wall as it is built up, one hand is placed within the vessel with the palm pressed against the wall. The other hand is used to smoothen the wall from outside, when the fingers alone are used, or a pebble is applied for lightly beating the wall flat and thin. For the final smoothening, only the hand is used.

While this is being done, the vessel is turned slowly. Small vessels are sometimes turned on the lap of the woman making it. Otherwise, it is placed on a basket or a lump of half-dry clay and slowly turned. While manufacturing a large vessel like the *jhonga*, the woman herself goes round the vessel.

It is also interesting that the work is not finished in one day. The walls are raised by about 6 or 7 inches every day and allowed to dry, after which the next height is added. The lower half of a *jhonga* thus takes about three days to build. This is allowed to stand for three or four days more to dry, when the process is continued for the upper half.

Small vessels can, of course, be finished in a day. An

expert woman can finish as many as 15 to 20 such vessels in a day.

In any case, when the vessel has been built up, a thick paste of mud is applied to it as slip. Vessels are decorated with geometrical designs produced by incising certain lines while it is yet soft, or small rolls of clay are added to the surface as decoration.

After drying, arrangements are made for firing. Dried leaves are spread on on the ground and the vessels are arranged in rows, one on top of another. The space between the vessels is also packed in with leaves ; more leaves and grasses are finally heaped on top and the kiln fired.

Miscellaneous matters

Men of the Hira caste only gather the clay and sand or fire the vessels, while the making of the pottery is entirely a woman's job. The vessels are also sold by men in the market, not by women.

A woman may not make pots while she is in her monthly course, and also from one month before to one month after child-birth. Other women in the family may however carry on the work. When a family is ceremonially 'unclean' after a death, however, all women refrain from making vessels for a period of eleven days.

On the last day of the worship of Durga in autumn, i.e., the *Vijaya Dasami*, the implements used by the Hiras, namely, the wooden stick and stone dabber, are washed, cleaned and placed in one corner of the courtyard. Offerings are placed in front of them, but no priest is required for the purpose.

At present, the Hiras of Lakhipur are in a pitiable condition. They are entirely dependent on their industry for livelihood, and have no land for cultivation Cultivation is also something to which they are not accustomed. In the meanwhile, the tribal people are giving up the habit of drinking home-brewed beer, and the demand for *jhongas* has thus tended to diminish. Moreover, the influx of alumunium ware has seriously affected the Hira potters' industry.

GARO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

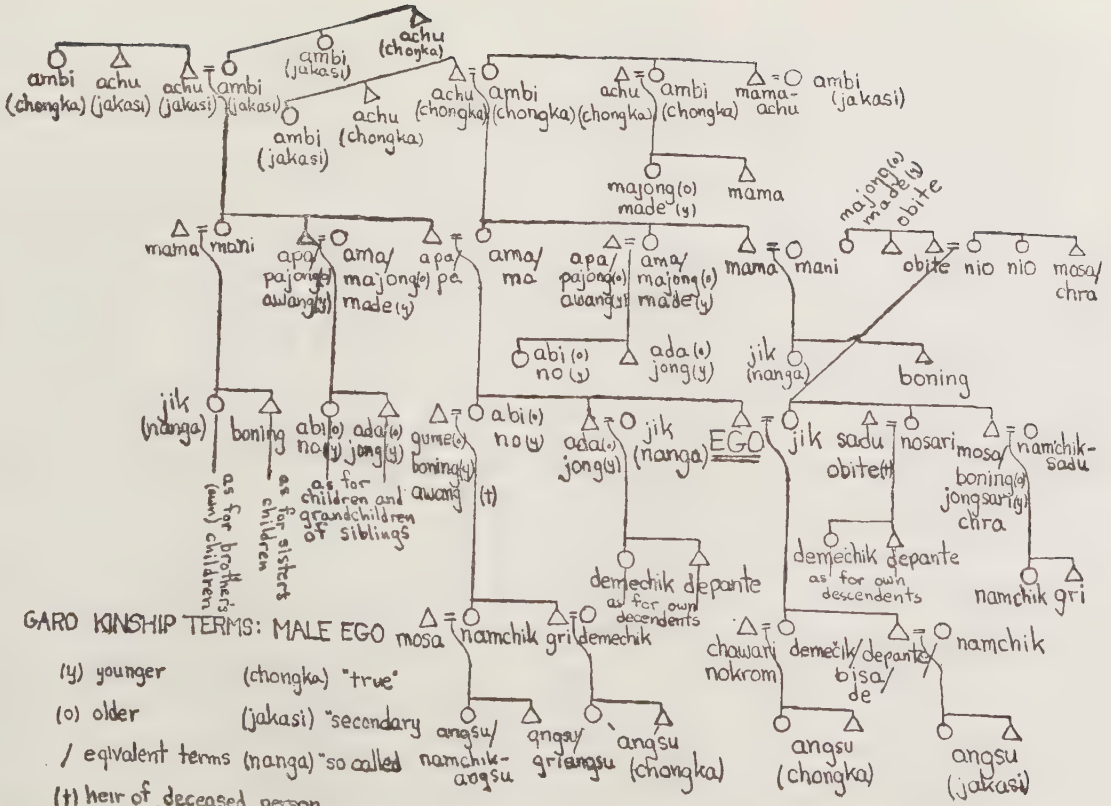
By Robbins Burling

Tura, Garo Hills.

THE Garos of Assam are one of the very few fully matrilineal people in India and as such their kinship organization is of particular interest. In this paper I have discussed one aspect of this organization, the terminology by which the Garos refer to their kin, and have tried to relate the terminological distinctions which they make to other features of their culture. The data of this paper refer particularly to an area about 10 miles northeast of Tura. Other areas show a few, but on the whole, minor differences.[1]

In order to make clear what follows, it is necessary to give a few very superficial statements about their formal social organization. Each Garo is automatically assigned by birth to the unilineal group of his mother, both to large divisions which are sometimes referred to as *chatchis*, and much smaller ones known sometimes as *machongs*. In the area to which this paper refers, there are only two *chatchis*, *Sangma* and *Marak*, and they are therefore essentially 'moieties', but in some areas others are present as well. Each *chatchi* is divided into many *machongs*, though even these include many people with whom no known relationship can be traced. I use the term 'lineage' to refer to the smaller group of relatives descended through the female line from a common ancestor, all of whose members are demonstrable relatives. Each married couple chooses one daughter, or if daughterless a close relative of the mother is adopted as daughter, and she is made heiress (*nokna*) of the family. Her husband should be chosen from the descent group of the father, preferably his own sister's son, and he becomes the heir (*nokrom*) of the house. This couple generally resides with the girl's parents, has the duty

1 The field work upon which this paper is based was made possible by a followship from the Ford Foundation of New York.


ambi (chongka)
achu (jakasi)
achu (jakasi)
ambi (jakasi)
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mama-achu
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majong(o) made(y)
mama
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mama
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apa/ pajong(o) awang(y)
ama/ majong(o) made(y)
apa/ pa
ama/ ma
apa/ pajong(o) awang(y)
ama/ majong(o) made(y)
mama
mani
obite
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mosa/ chra
abi(o) no(y)
ada(o) jong(y)
jik (nanga)
boning
jik (nanga)
boning
abi(o) no(y)
ada(o) jong(y)
gumet(o) boning(y) awang (t)
abi(o) no(y)
ada(o) jong(y)
jik (nanga)
EGO
jik
sadu obitett
nosari
mosa/ boning(o) jongsari(y) chra
namchik-sadu
as for brothers' (own) children
as for sisters children
as for children and grandchildren of siblings
demechik
depante
as for own descendents
demechik
depante
as for own descendents
namchik gri
GARO KINSHIP TERMS: MALE EGO
mosa
namchik
gri
demechik
chawari nokrom
demechik/ depante/ bisa/ de
namchik
(y) younger
(o) older
/ eqivalent terms
(t) heir of deceased person
(chongka) "true"
(jakasi) "secondary
(nanga) "so called
angsu/ namchik-angsu
angsu/ grianngsu
angsu (chongka)
angsu (chongka)
angsu (jakasi)

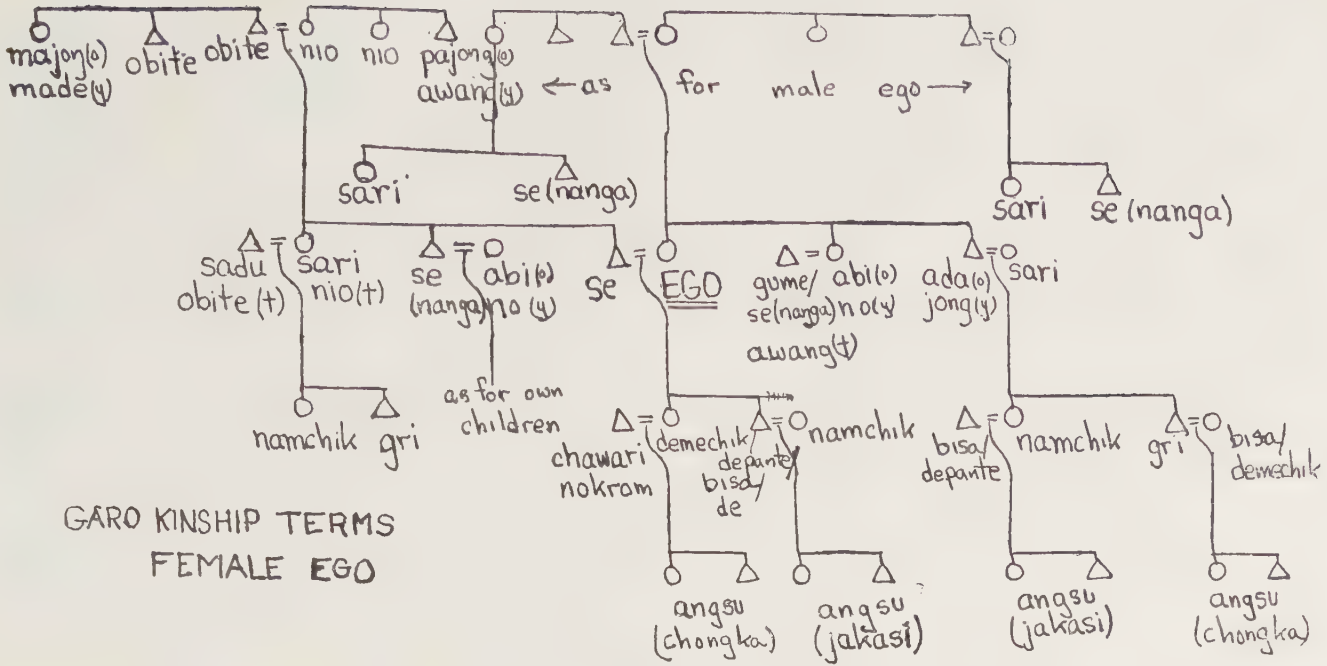
majong(o) made(y)
obite
obite
nio
nio
pajong(o) awang(y)
← as
for male ego →
sari
se(nanga)
sari
se(nanga)
sadu obite (t)
sari nio(t)
se (nanga)
abi(o) no(y)
se
EGO
gume/ se(nanga) awang(t)
abi(o) no(y)
ada(o) jong(y)
sari
namchik
gri
as for own children
chawari nokram
demechik
depante/ bisa/ de
namchik
bisa/ depante
namchik
gri
bisa/ demechik
angsu (chongka)
angsu (jakasi)
angsu (jakasi)
angsu (chongka)
GARO KINSHIP TERMS
FEMALE EGO

TABLE 1

Kinship Terms Used By a Male Ego

	Own Chatchi		Opposite Chatchi	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Second ascending generation	ambi (chongka) (grandmother)	achu (jakasi) (grandfather) mamaachu (M. M. B.)	ambi (jakasi) (M. M.)	achu (chongka) (F. F.)
First ascending generation	ama/ma (mother) majong (M. o S.) made (M. y. S.)	mama (M. B.) obite* (W. F.)	mani (F. S.) niotang* (W. M.)	apa/pa (father) pajong (F. o. B.) awang (F. y. B.) mɔsa (*) (W. M. B.)
Ego's generation	abi (D. S.) no (y S.) namchiksadu* (W. B. W.)	ada (o. B.) jong (y. B.) sadu (W. S. H.) obite (†) (heir of W. F.)	jik (*) (wife) nosari* (W. S.)	mosa/boning (*) (brother-in-law) awang (†) (father's heir)
First descending generation	namchik (S. D.)	chawari* (D. H.) gri (S. Z.) nokrom (heir)	bisa/de (child) demechik (daughter) nokna (heiress)	bisa/de (child) depante (son) mosa (*) (S. D. H.)
Second descending generation	angsu (jakasi) (grandchild) namchikangsu (S. D. D.)	angsu (jakasi) (grandchild) griangsu (S. D. Z.)	angsu (chongka) (grandchild)	

The following abbreviation have been used—M, mother ; F, father ; Z, son ; D, daughter ; B, brother : S, sister : H, husband : W, wife : o, older : y, younger.

to care for them in old age, and inherits whatever property the older couple may possess. Other daughters and their husbands always set up new and independent households, most often in the village of the girl, but sometimes in the boy's village, or even elsewhere. A household in theory then should never end, each couple always being succeeded by a *nokna* and *nokrom*, but new households may be, and frequently are, founded. Most broadly speaking, each household consists of a single line of women, and on the one hand, their husdands who marry in, and on the other their brothers who marry out. Both husbands and brothers have certain rights and duties towards the household and toward the line of women that connects them.

The Garos use terms as shown on the accompanying kinship charts, one of which is shown for both a male speaker and for a female speaker. These charts are arranged in such a way as to bring people who are similarly termed close together on the chart. Tuse the matrilineal line of women is shown in a vertical column, with sisters and brothers to the right. Affinal relatives are shown on the same charts. People in the ascending generations are referred to in the same way by women as by men, and these positions have therefore been left off the chart for women. Furthermore, in a few cases where relatives which are called by the same term have descendants likewise called by the same terms, I have left out the more remote descendants in order to keep the charts from becoming unnecessarily cluttered. Thus the children of parallel cousins are called by the same terms as the children of siblings. (o) means that the terms refer to an older reletive, (y) to a younger. This is reckoned through the intervening relative, however, so that daughters of a mother's older sister are reckoned as older sisters, whether they are literally older than ego or not. Similarly, sister's husbands differ not according to their own age, but according to whether they are married to older or younger sister of ego. The/separates equivalent terms. ( ) encloses optional modifiers which make the term more precise. Finally, (†) indicates that the term is appropriate only after the death of the person from whom the indicated person inherits. (See below under 8. DECADENCE).

There are a few other terms or modifiers which are not easily shown on the chart. These are listed and discussed briefly below.

Chra: This is a general term referring to all the men of one's wife's lineage. A woman uses the term to refer to the men of her own lineage. That is, it refers to the sons and brothers of a line of women, and it used by these women and their husbands.

Gachi: This is the converse to *chra*, in that it is used by men to refer to the husbands of women in their own lineage. It may be used quite narrowly to refer to the men married into a single house, or much more broadly to the men who have married into an entire village, where most of the women are at least remotely related to each other through the female line.

Sadu: This term is shown on the chart as referring to a man's W. S. H. That is, husbands of sisters use the term for each other. Like the term *chra* and *gachi*, however, it also refers more generally to all men married to the same line of women as oneself. Most broadly, all men who are married to women of the same *machong* may refer to each other as *sadu*. Thus a married man has in general four sets of male relatives: his own lineage mates, brothers, maternal uncles and so forth; his *gachi*, or the husbands of the women of his own lineage: his *chra*, or the men of his wife's lineage; and his *sadu*, or the men who are married into the same lineage as he himself.

Many languages have terms which refer in a similar way to the members of a certain lineage, or to a group of people all of whom are related to the speaker in the same way. But the more frequent groups picked out for labelling are lineages of various ancestors. Thus in a matrilineal society men may refer to the lineage of their or all the people in it by a special term, and the lineage of the M. F., and even the F. F. may similarly be labelled. The Garos do not have terms for these lineages, however, and in fact these lineages have very liatle importance to the Garos. Instead, men related to one another by marriage in varrious ways are categorized by the terms mentioned above. It appears that when Garo men marry, they become assimilated to their wives' lineages to a greater extent than is true in most

matrilineal societies. One aspect of this, is the rather elaborate terminology for groups of affinally related men, and the meagre terminology categorizing groups of ancestors.

Brief mention must also be made to certain suffixes that are frequently added to the kinship terms themselves. The terms as given below are most often, though not always, used with either *-tang*, or *-gipa* suffixed to them. This suffixes, particularize the terms, giving somewhat the sense, for instance, of 'own mother' to what would otherwise be simply 'mother'. While certain terms most frequently take *-gipa*, and others most frequently take *-tang*, there is no formal limitation on the use of either with any term, and terms may also be used alone. For simplicity's sake I have therefore used the root terms by themselves in the following discussion. In ordinary conversation, however, the suffixes are very frequently used.

Having disposed of the preliminaries, then, I shall now discuss the use of the kinship terms proper.

The 'function' of a terminological system is presumably to allow the speakers of that language to make the various distinctions among relatives that are important to the culture of the particular people. Every kinship system makes some distinctions more explicit than others. Thus the English system rigidly differentiates between lineal and collateral relatives, while it ignores the distinction between relatives related through the mother or through the father. That is, both M. B. and F. B. are indifferently called 'uncle', while 'father' is never confused with either of these two relatives. Corresponding to this is the behavioural fact that all people called uncle in English-speaking countries are treated in much the same way, while the father is treated quite differently. According to this line of thinking, then, the distinctions which are made in the naming of relatives are more fundamental than the particular terms themselves. Accordingly I have discussed the terms below by the distinctions that are made rather than discussing them individually. In each case I have tried to show the extent to which the terminological distinctions correspond to distinctions in behaviour.

The three most important distinctions in the Garo termino-

logy are (1) generation, (2) sex, and (3) *chatchi* membership. This means that all the terms can be placed in boxes of the accompanying chart which has spaces for each of the types of relatives defined by these three distinctions. In some cases two or more terms must be placed in each space which can only be distinguished by other criteria. Terms for affinals are shown with a *, while (*) indicates that the term is primarily affinal, but is sometimes used for non-affinals as well. Terms for older and younger siblings of lineal relatives are again shown with (o) and (y), and equivalent terms are divided by a/. Other instances where there are two terms in the same box have other distinctions, which are explained below I have shown a chart only for male ego, and except where explicitly stated, the discussion below refers to male ego. A chart for female ego would be sightly rearranged, but the same principles would be evident. The English terms and abbreviations which have been included in this third chart do not of course imply a close equivalent in meaning. They give, however, as close an equivalent as possible in one word and they are intended only to assist the reader in keeping the terms straight in his own mind.

Criteria of Distinction

1. GENERATION : The distinctions between members of various generations are maintained almost perfectly. The one real exception is the term *mosa*, which may be used by W. M. B. and S. D. H. for each other. This is a fairly important relationship, since W. M. B. is likely to be a leading man of one's wife's lineage and therefore may have important duties toward his niece and her husband. On the face of it, this seems an unlikely place for a reciprocal term to appear, since these are hardly in an equivalent position to one another. *Mosa* is, however, considered more generally a polite term for a member of the opposite *chatchi*, and as such it probably signifies the attempt of these two men to deal with each other in a dignified and respectful way. *Mosa* may also be used as an equivalent for *bonung*, 'brother-in-law', either W. B. or S. H. Again it is a respectful term for a member of the opposite *chatchi*, and as such is extended widely beyond the literal relatives shown on the chart.

Besides this, there are a few derived terms containing a term used in another generation. Thus *namchik* means most specifically S. D. or 'girl of one's own lineage in the first descending generation'. *Angsunamchik* (meaning literally 'grandchild niece') is a girl in the second descending generation, in the same lineage, and *namchiksadu* is an affinal in the same *chatchi*—W. B. W. Similar things may be said for *gri*, and *griangsu*, and for *mama*, and *mamaachu*. The general terms *chra*, *sadu*, and *gachi*, mentioned above also refer to groups of men including men of different generations. But as such, these are not typical kinship terms but terms referring to a whole group of people. Finally, an heir may assume the social position of the person he inherits from and be called by terms approprite to him. (See 8. DECADENCE).

This careful generational distinction might lead one to expect an importance of generation in the social organization. Though the importance of generational distinctions would seem very difficult to measure in any objective way, it does not seem, however, that the Garos can be called particularly 'generation-conscious'. Certainly the Garos are not overly particular in marrying a person from the same genealogical generation, or even of closely the same age. I know of two men who have married each other's daughters by former wives. When marriages occur across generation lines, then kinship to any given relative is traced by the nearest route and no particular difficult is felt in considering him to occupy two kinship positions simultaneously. However, generation distinctions are inherent in kinship, and though some terminological systems may choose to ignore them in part, I suspect that little significance can be attached to the fact that distinctions are carefully maintained. In this case, the ignoring of such distinctions might be considerably more significant than the careful maintenance of them.

2. SEX : The same lack of significance is probably true of the careful sex distinctions that are made. The Garo system ignores sex in only one term, that for grandchild, which is precisely where sex matters least. *Bisa* and *de* are also common words for child, though when it is necessary to specify the sex,

the longer, but freely used terms *demechik* (literally 'female child' or *depante* ('boy child), can be used.

3. CHATCHI MEMBERSHIP: The careful distinction which Garos maintain between members of one's own *chatchi* and the opposite one is much less inevitable than distinctions of generation and sex, and considerably more significant. It is maintained almost as consistently as the first two criteria. It may be ignored only in the grandparental and grandchildren's generations, and even here there are ways to specify *chatchi* if necessary. Mother's parents and others in the same *chatchi* can be specified by adding the particle *chongka* meaning 'true'. Father's parents and members of the same *chatchi* are termed *jakasi*, literally 'left hand', i.e., not so direct as the *chongka* grandparents. Similarly, daughter's children and others in the same *chatchi* (for male speakers the *chatchi* of one's wife) are *chongka* while others are *jakasi* or given the special names *namchi-kangsu*, and *griangsu*, meaning 'children in my own lineage two generations down'. Even in the grandparental generation a special term *mamaachu*, is set aside for M. M. B, 'and old man of my lineage', 'a grandfather uncle'. In the other generations the distinction between the two *chatchis* is complete, and accounts for a great many of the remaining terminological distinctions. Thus *majong* may mean F.B W., M.S. M.M.S.D. etc., and its meaning is essentially 'woman of my own *chatchi* in the generation of my parents'. I have frequently had the importance of *chatchi* membership in determining terminology demonstrated to me when asking an informant what the proper term would be for a fairly distant relative. If it is necessary to sit back and calculate a bit, informants frequently mention what *chatchi* a person is in as the reason he is assigned to particular kinship positions.

The terminological separation of the *chatchis* has certain very important correlates in other aspects of culture. First of all is the firm rule that every man must marry a woman from the opposite *chatchi*. In fact, if it were not for this rule, a person in any particular kinship position might be a member of either of the *chatchis*. As it is, the rule of *chatchi* exogamy assures for instance that a man's mother's father will be in the

opposite *chatchi*, and a man's W. S. H. will be in his own. In a few parts of the Garo Hills, a third *chatchi*, *Momin*, is found. There is considerable evidence that this is a recent development, some people presumably shifting to *Momin* from the others, thus making it legal for them to marry into either of the other groups. Among the most compelling of the evidence for its recent origin is the terminology which is exceedingly well adapted to a dual division, but is quite out of harmony with a three-way split. Presumably with time, if the *Momins* became well established, the terminology would readapt to the new situation, but it has not yet done so.

The Garos tell a few stories concerning the origin of the *chatchis*, and there is a certain amount of symbolic rivalry between them. They are seen in some ways as balanced and opposing halves of the society. Joking relationships are structured according to *chatchi* membership and in most villages most of the women come from one of the *chatchis* and their husbands come from the other. The kinships terminology then clearly reflects the dual division of the society.

4. COLLATERLITY : Collaterality is ignored in many instances in the Garo system. Thus siblings of the grandparents and of the parents-in-law are merged with grandparents and parents-in-law respectively. Parallel cousins are merged with siblings, and their children with sibling's children, all very systematically. However, there are special terms for the siblings of one's parents. But even here a common alternative usage is to call F.B. by the same term as father (*apa*) and M.S. by the same term as mother (*ama*). With these mergings, the criterion of collaterally is largely eliminated from playing part in the system. There remains a special term *nosari* for W. S. ,but H. B. is the same as husband.

Of course, people recognize various degrees of nearness of relationship. The term *nanga*, 'so-called' may be added to any term to indlcate that the relationship is fairly distant, particularly to show that *jik* or *se* is not true wife or husband, while *chongmot* indicates that the relationship is fairly close. If necessary, true siblings can be defined by saying that they had the same mother, or that they 'drank from the same breast.'

However, people from the area from which these data are drawn, are able to apply kinship terms to anybody in the neighbouring villages with whom they are likely to come in contact. (The number of non-Garos in the area in insignificant.) The ignoring of collaterality is a means by which a very large number of people are drawn into the orbit of kin relations. Whatever the actual nearness of biological relationship, people may refer to each other with a framework of kinship, and behave toward one another accordingly. Here again, the terminology reflects the wide ranging nature of kinship in this society.

5. Relative age within the generation: Sisters, brothers, mother's sisters, and father's brothers are distinguished among themselves on the basis of relative age. Thus father's older brother and father's younger brother are called by distinct terms. The distinctions made in relative age have some important correlates in other aspects of the culture. Older brother (*ada*) is in some ways seen as similar to M.B. (*mama*) as an older member of the same lineage. He is a disciplinarian, one whom it is suitable to fear. Also one may marry the spouse of a dead older sibling, but never the spouse of a younger sibling. Within the lineage people are ranked with respect to one another according to age, with the older members taking formal precedence over the younger ones. The terminological age distinctions reflect this ranking. However, if the terminological distinction which is made between the siblings of the parents have correlates in differences of behaviour toward them, I am not aware of them.

6. Affinity: There are a number of special terms for affinal relatives, including special terms for W.M., W.F., W.S., W.B., W.B.W., W.S.H., and for several relatives of the husband. The terms for wife (*jik*) and husband (*se*) are of course primarily affinal terms, but they may also be used for cross-cousins of the opposite sex. A woman also calls her husband's brother and sister's husband by the same term as for husband, except that in all these cases the suffix *nanga*, 'so-called', may be added to indicate that this is not a true husband or wife. The affinal terms are slightly better developed for a

male ego than for a female ego, reflecting the dominant residence pattern, which makes it more likely that a man will come in contact with his wife's relatives than a woman with her husband's. W.F., W.M., and during their childhood, W.S. and W.B. are all likely to be resident in the same house, and appropriately have special terms. W.S.H. (*sadu*) is a man with whom ego must cooperate throughout his married life, whether or not he is otherwise closely related to him, and again he is appropritely called by a special term. A woman, on the other hand, comes into relatively little contact with the relatives of her husband, and appropriately the terms for these people are less developed. (No special term for woman's H.B., and fewer alternates for several positions). The merging of terms for spouses and cross-cousins is clearly congruent with the latter's suitability as marriage partners. On the other hand, one's father-in-law is very likely to be a real or classificatory M. B. (*mama*) but once he becomes a father-in-law, he assumes a very special position different from any other M.B. and has a special term (*obite*). Similarly, W.M. (*nio*) may also be F.S. (*mani*), though this is not so frequent, and again she is set off from other people in the same classificatory position. (In some dialects, not the one here discussed, *mani* is used as an alternative term for W.M.) Again one's son-in-law will very likely be a real or classificatory S.Z. (*gri*) but when he becomes a son-in-law, he rates a term for himself (*chawari* or *nokrom*, 'heir') ; Z.W., on the other hand, who is a member of one's own *chatchi* (for a male speaker) is always called only by the general term for S.D. (*namchik*), that is, for 'a woman of my own *chatchi* of my children's generation', and no special term is needed for her as daughter-in-law, because she is never coresident, and consequently in less intimate dealings with ego and his household. That is, I am suggesting that the more intimate the personal relations, the more refined will be the terminological distinctions that are made.

7. SPEAKER'S SEX : So far I have discussed primarily the terms used by a male speaker. The terms in the ascending generations are the same for a female speaker. In ego's generation there are a number of difference, however, so far

as affinal relatives are concerned. (Terms for these relatives, affinals of one's own generation, show the greatest dialectical variation, the greatest number of alternate forms, and in general, the greatest confusion of any part of the system.) There is a special term for husband (*se*) which is also used by women for their male cross-cousins. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are called by quite different terms by women than by men, as can be seen on the charts, and the terms used by women are slightly less complex. The word *sari* is used by women for 'sisters-in-law', both B.W. and H.S., and also for female cross-cousins. It is therefore the female equivalent of *bonung*.

In the descending generation the terms are the same but the third chart, as I have outlined it, would have to be rearranged. This arises from the fact that a husband and wife call their children by the same term, that is, a woman calls her own children (who are in her own *chatchi*) *bisa*, 'child', and her husband calls these same people (who are *not* in his *chatchi*) *bisa*. This is extended collaterally so that a man calls his *brother's* children by the term for own child, while a woman calls her *sister's* children by that term. Similarly, a woman calls her brother's children *namchik* and *gri*, while a man uses these terms for his sister's children. Broadly speaking, this means that a man calls his older relatives by the same terms that his sister uses, but calls his younger relatives by the same terms that his wife uses. This reflects the shift that a man makes at his marriage from his sister's house to that of his wife, and his growing identification with the family of his wife.

8. DECADENCE: In certain cases when a man or woman dies, his or her heir is called by the terms formerly appropriate to the dead person. This causes considerable confusion in the actual use of the terms. A man calls his W.F.'S heir (*nokrom*) *obite* after his wife's father is dead. Similarly, a woman calls the heirs of her husband's parents *obite* and *niotang* after the husband's parents are dead. Both men and women call their own father's heir *awang* after the father's death. *Awang* refers otherwise to father's younger brother

rather than to father himself, but the same principle of assuming a role which is at least similar to that of the deceased person is involved.

9. HEIRSHIP : One, and only one , daughter of each married couple is chosen to be the heiress of the family, and her husband is the heir. These two people have a very different role toward the older couple than other daughters and their husbands have, and are appropriately labelled by special terms, *nokna* meaning the daughter of the house who is the heiress, and *nokrom* for the particular son-in-law who married the chosen daughter and lives in the house. *Nokrom* is sometimes used for the chosen daughter as well, so it means more generally 'heir' than strictly 'inheriting son-in-law.'

The criteria that have listed above serve adequately to differentiate all of the Garo kinship terms of reference from one another. Murdock in his book, *Social Structure*, gives nine such criteria, many of which correspond to those listed here.[2] One of his criteria, that of 'bifurcation' (depending upon whether a relative is related to the speaker through a man or a woman) covers much the same ground as my criterion of *chatchi* membership, except that for this particular system *chatchi* membership is a good deal more explicit and exact. Only his 'criterion of polarity' is really unnecessary, but even this can help clarify a few aspects of the system. People rarely call each other by the same term, but this is inevitable with both generation and relative age playing the part that they do. However, a number of terms are quite cleary and explicitly recognized as being reciprocal to each other. Thus, in grandparental and grandchild terms, the *chongka* and *jakasi* relatives are always reciprocal. Thus I am the *chongka* grandson of my *chongka* grandfather, etc. Similarly, I have had men explain to me that they call somebody *griangsu* (S.D Z.) *because* they were called *mama achu* (M.M.B.) by the other.

Conclusions

In this paper I have discussed the kinship terms by

2 G. P. Murdock, *Social Structnre*, New York, 1949, pp. 102ff.

reference to the underlying distinctions that Garos seem to find necessary to maintain. By reference to terminology alone nine criteria can be discoverd, according to which the Garos distinguish their kin. In most of these cases there are important behavioural distinctions which parallel those of the terminology.

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FAMILY STRUCTURE OF THE KANIKKAR AND THE URALI OF TRAVANCORE

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Introduction

THE Kanikkar* and the Urali are two primitive tribes living in the reserved forests of Travancore. The Kanikkar are found in the Southern and Central Divisions and the Urali in the Northern and High Range Divisions. Investigations were carried out among them by the author in 1952-53. Out of the two tribes, the Urali generally live in comparative isolation in inaccessible mountains. Among the Kanikkar, two groups can be distinguished in this respect. Those living in the southern portion of the High Range are more isolated from the people of the plains than others living in Kottarakara, Pathanapuram and lowland portion of Nedumangad Taluks. The former will be referred to as Gr. I and the latter as Gr. II in the present paper.

During the present investigation, data were collected from 220 Kanikkar and 188 Urali families. Considering the figures given in the census reports of 1931 and 1941, it appears that about 10% of the total number of existing families in each tribe have been included in the present sample. Out of 220 families in the Kanikkar sample, 107 belong to Gr. I and 113 to Gr. II. All the data were collected by means of house to house visits by the author himself with the help of the Forest Department officials who acted as interpreters.

Family Size

Before considering the average size of the family among the two tribes, let us see how they compare among themselves and with others regarding the frequency distribu-

* *Kanikkar* is the plural form of *Kanikkaran*.

tion of the families of the four types distinguished in the 1951 Census Report of India on the basis of size (Gopalswami, 1953).

TABLE 1

Number of different types of families per 100 families

Type of family	Kanikkar Gr I	Kanikkar Gr. II	Urali	South India (rural)	India (rural)
Small (3 or less)	39	35	28	34	33
Medium (4-6)	52	53	45	44	44
Large (7-9)	8	11	22	17	17
Very large (10 or more)	0	2	5	5	6

We observe in the above table that the number of small families is higher among both the groups of Kanikkar than among the Urali. Among the Kanikkar of Gr. I there is no family of 10 members or more. The largest family among the Kannikar in the present sample is a family consisting of 11 members in the Vanchiodu settlement, while the largest among the Urali is formed by as many as 19 members. The head of that Urali family in the Vanchivayal settlement has three wives. These four with all their issues including the two married sons and their wives and also two issues of the first wife of the head from her former deceased husband are living together. As expected from the above table, the average size of the family among the Urali is higher than among the Kanikkar.

TABLE 2

Average family-size with co-efficient of variation

Group	No. of families	Average	Co-efficient of variation
Kanikkar Gr. I	107	4·15	37·6
Kanikkar Gr. II	113	4·35	44·4
Urali	188	5·39	48·6
India (sample)	Not available	4·87	Not available

The Urali live in more secluded places than the Kanikkar and are generally more primitive in some respects than the Kanikkar. It has been observed that the average family size among the Urali is significantly higher than among the Kanikkar. But it has also been observed that the average family size among the Kanikkar of Gr. I is not higher than among the Kanikkar of Gr. II, though the former is more primitive than the latter. So it is not possible to draw from the present data any definite relationship between the degree of seclusion or primitiveness and the size of the family.

Extended Families

Among both the Kanikkar and the Urali, the general custom is that when the son gets married, he lives separately with his wife. But there are extended families in which more than one related married (including widowed and divorced) men live together. It has been found that the extended family system is more prevalent among the Urali than among the Kanikkar, the percentages being 18 for the Urali and 11 for the Kanikkar.

There are also differences in the pattern of extended families. The families in which father and married son or sons live together are frequent among the Urali and the families in which father-in-law and son-in-law live together are more frequent among the Kanikkar. It may be mentioned here that the frequency of families in which father-in-law and son-in-law live jointly is greater amoug the Kanikkar of Gr. I than among Gr. II.

Pattern of Relationship

The pattern of relationship among the members of the family has been shown for the whole of India (sample) in the Census Report of 1951 (Gopalswami, 1953). Data collected from the Kanikkar and the Urali have been classified in the same manner and presented in the following table.

TABLE 3

Number of persons per 100 *families in different types of relationship*

Number in 100 *families*

Relationship	Kanikkar Gr. I	Kanikkar Gr. II	Urali	India (sample)
Heads and their wives	179	188	203	171
Sons and daughters	142	190	257	189
Other relatives	94	57	79	120
Unrelated members	0	0	2	7
Total	415	435	541	487

HEADS AND THEIR WIVES : The proportion of the heads of families and their wives is higher among the two tribes than in India as a whole, partly because the proportion of married males as heads of families is higher among these tribes, but chiefly because the number of wives is higher among them than the number of husbands. This is due to the practice of polygyny among them. The proportion of wives is particularly high among the Urali.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS : The proportion under this category is much higher among Urali than in other groups. Gr. II of the Kanikkar has got almost the same proportion as in India, but Gr. I has got a much lower proportion. The proportion of daughters in all the groups is much less than that of sons, obviously because in all groups the daughters generaly leave the parent's family after marriage.

OTHER RELATIVES : The proportion of relatives (other than sons and daughters) of the heads of families is less among both these tribes than in India taken as a whole. The nuclear family consisting only of husband, wife and children is higher among the tribal people than among other rular people. The Kanikkar of Gr. II have got a number of such families, which is responsible for the proportion of such relatives being least in their families. Thus, in the Villumalai settlement near Kulathupuzha, out of 25 families only 8 families are with relatives other than sons and daughters of the heads and 17 families are of the nuclear type. All Kanikkar families of the Kodalimanpuram and Udubada settlements near Palode are also of the nuclear type.

The relatives of the wives found in the families of these two tribes are generally the wife's widowed mother, her brothers and sisters and sometimes her children from the previous husband. Such relatives are greater in number among the Kanikkar of Gr. I and the Urali. Both these groups are more primitive than the Kanikkar of Gr. II.

UNRELATED MEMBERS : It is unusual to find among these tribes unrelated persons living in the family. Only 3 such persons in 2 Urali families were met with. These were cases of adoption.

One important point to be noted is that the head of the family and his wife and children account for 75% of the size of an average family in India. Among the Kanikkar and the Urali, they account for 81% and 85% respectively of the size of the family.

Polygyny

The system of polygyny is more prevalent among the Urali than among the Kanikkar. Not a single polygynous family was found among the Kanikkar of Gr. I, and there were only 3 such among 113 families of Gr. II. But the number of polygynous families among the Urali of the present sample of 188 families was 19. The head of one such family has got three wives. All others have got two wives each. The second wives are generally sisters of first wives or wives of deceased brothers. When a widow becomes the second wife, her minor children from the first husband generally accompany her to the new home. Typical examples of polygynous families among the Urali are found in the Vanchivayal settlement near Kumily. Out of 10 heads of the families in that settlement, 5 have more than one wife. There are 101 males among the Urali per 100 females, so polygyny cannot be attributed to the preponderance of women.

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ABO BLOOD GROUP INVESTIGATION AMONG THE JATS OF ROHTAK (PUNJAB)

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Method employed

THE Jats are an important agricultural community found all over north-western India, in the Punjab, Sind, U. P. and northern parts of Rajputana, especially in Bharatpur, put hardly in Kashmir or the Himalayas to the east of that state.

The data presented in this brief paper are the result of investigation carried out by the author in two Jat villages in Tehsil Gohana, Dist. Rohtak, Punjab.

Because the Jats objected to giving more than one drop of blood, the slide method was preferred to the test tube method which requires a much larger quantity of blood. As a matter of experience, it has been found that in doubtful cases when the process is to be repeated, it becomes difficult to persuade the subject to donate another 0·5 c.c. of blood for testing by the test tube method.

In the present investigation, a drop of blood was added to a drop of physiological or normal saline solution placed in the middle of the slide and to it was added the test serum. Equal mixing was brought about by repeatedly tipping and cautiouasly tilting the slide to and fro. Sometimes an additional drop of the saline solution was added to stimulate reaction. A positive reaction was often recognized at once ; it appeared at the latest from 5 to 15 minutes after. A larger period of observation was allowed to make sure that no reaction had taken place. In doubtful cases, repetition of the process was done frequently to avoid any possible error. As a matter of routine checking, the serum was alwayas tested with the help of persons of known blood groups at the opening of each new

bottle. However, in doubtful cases, in order to avoid any possible change of droppers or serum tubes, or when a mild reaction was observed after the passage of a considerable time, a friend with blood group A, who was with me throughout my stay in the field, was the only constant control employed in the investigation.* The testing sera were supplied by the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, and were used in the same concentration.

Data and its Analysis

In the two villages covered by the present study, 93 Jats formed by 28 females and 65 males, were subjected to blood group tests in accordance with the method mentioned above.

The result of the present serological study is summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1

ABO Blood Groups among the Jats

Number of persons	Percentage in each group				Gene frequencies			D	σ	D/σ
	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r			
93	41·94	22·58	34·40	1·08	0·13	0·20	0·65	0·029	0·014	2·14

The analysis of the study indicates that group B is more prevalent than group A, while group O, as in most of the cases, is maximum in the percentage frequency distribution of the four blood groups. The value of the D/σ though quite big, that is 2·14, is insignificant when we take into consideration the number of variables and the degrees of freedom.

For a comparative study, the results of earlier studies on various Indian castes and tribes are presented in Table 2.

When a specific comparison of the figures of Jats covered by the present study is made with those of Rajputs given in Table 2, very few similarities are observed. In the first mixed group of Hindus, Gurkhas, Garhwalis, Rajputs, Jats and

* It is unfortunate that it was not found possible by the author to exercise the same caution in the field with regard to B, although B and AB account for a considerable proportion of the population. —*Editor*

TABLE 2

Blood Groups of Different Indian Castes and Tribes

	Population	Number of Persons	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	Investigator
1	Hindus, Gurkhas, Garhwalis, Rajputs, Jats and Kumaonis*	1000	31·30	19·00	41·20	8·50	·149	·291	·559	Hirszfeld
2	U. P. Kayasthas*	110	36·00	19·90	32·60	11·50	·169	·249	·581	Majumdar
3	U. P. Chamars*	151	36·30	18·70	39 30	5·70	·131	·259	·609	,,
4	U. P. Kshattriyas*	416	30·83	26·83	32·73	9·61	·202	·240	·556	,,
5	Rajput*	118	28·80	28·00	33·00	10·20	·216	·249	·537	Malone & Lahiri
6	Khasa Rajput*	118	33·80	31·70	26·20	8·30	·228	·193	·581	Majumdar
7	Kumaoni Rajput (Khasiya)*	124	29·03	24·19	33·87	12·90	·191	·254	·539	Tiwari
8	Jats	93	41·94	22·58	34·40	1·08	·134	·203	·651	Khurana

*Tiwari, S. C. : 'The Blood groups of the Kumaonis', *The Anthropologist*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 50-52.

Kumaonis covered by Hirszfeld, the percentage frequency of group O is much less than that of the Jats, while the reverse is the case with group B where the figures are 41·20% and 34·40% respectively. In the case of group A, there is, to some extent, similarity between the two data.

Malone and Lahiri's data on Rajputs present a different picture. There is a similarity between the figures of group B (Jats, 34·4% and Rajputs, 33·0%) while that of other groups is more while those of groups A and AB are less among Jats as compared to that of the Rajputs.

Practically same is the comparison of Jats and Kumaoni Rajputs studied by Tiwari. Here also the similarity is noticeable in group B (Jats, 34·40% and Kumaoni Rajputs, 33·87%), while differences are quite significant in the case of other groups.

So, on the whole, the comparison reveals that there is some similarity between the Rajputs and Jats so for as the incidence of group B is concerned, while percentages in other groups are quite variable. But it should be borne clearly in mind that a single character like that of blood group distribution, though quite an important, one cannot decide the issue whether the Jats and Rajputs are idential, similar, or belong to different racial stocks.*

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BOOK REVIEWS

Peasant Society and Culture : An Anthropological Approach to Civilization, *By Robert Redfield. The University of Chicago Press, 1956. Price 2.75 dollars. Pp. vii + 163.*

In an earlier book entitled *The Little Community*,* Professor Robert Redfield tried to show how the anthropologist was primarily concerned with the study of a community as more or less an isolate. In that book, his chief purpose was to examine how far the anthropologist's approach differed from that of other social scientists. But a new development has also been taking place in the history of the science. Significant studies of peasant communities in the East and the West have been made in recent years ; and it has been the purpose of Professor Redfield to examine what the impact of this adventure has been upon the growth of the science of anthropology. He has also tried to indicate how we can make the best use of the new opportunity.

The enlargement of one's field of activity may be looked upon as no more than a mechanical gain. What has however been of greater significance is that we have been gaining a new insight into the nature of civilization itself. We have begun to see the small community not as an isolate but as forming part of a larger whole. Professor Redfield traces in some detail how the 'great tradition' of a civilization is often built up by the synthesis of many little traditions which grew up earlier in comparative isolation ; and how again, a 'little tradition' may result from the adaptation of a great tradition to the circumstances of a small rural environment. The illustrations have been drawn from many fields ; and although Professor Redfield is apologetic on that account, we are glad that he has not tried to overwhelm his readers by the weight of a massive collection of evidence.

In the last chapter of the book, Professor Redfield has tried to examine if there is really anything which might be called the peasant's point of view in regard to 'good life.' He comes to the conclusion that although such a view is partly justified, yet the attitude towards land, or to life generally, which the peasant

* Reviewed in *Man in India*. Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 323-25.

displays in many parts of the world, shows such a wide range of variability that the ready generalization in this respect subscribed to by many authors needs substantial modification. Professor Redfield therefore suggests that the anthropologist should equip himself for a more intensive study of the value-systems of communities than has hitherto been customary.

It may not be out of place here to draw upon our experience of peasant communities in India. Here, we have castes traditionally tied to agriculture, just as there are others similarly attached to carpentry, blaksmithery, weaving, leather-working, and so on. Due to technological change, as well as on account of the increasing pressure of population, many artisans have given up there hereditary calling and taken to agriculture as a last resort, where they have been degraded into the position of landless labourers. Some of the tribal people of India, on the other hand, find it hard to live by means of axe cultivation on the hills and are settling down in the valleys as wet cultivators. Naturally, the attitude of these genetically distinguishable classes to land. and to the profession of agriculture, will be different from that of castes who have, through centuries of alliance with land, developed particular traditions and attitudes towards the earth and to their own occupation. In would therefore perhaps be worth while to take into account the historical and social context when we try to reduce several classes engaged in the same occupation to an identical level for purposes of comparison.

As Professor Redfield rightly says, this calls for a refinement of technique which can cope with the enlarged and deepened dimension of the growing science of anthropology. Students of the science will feel grateful to the auther of the book, as well as to the William J. Cooper, Foundation of the Swarthmore College in particular, ofr the opportunity which was afforded to the former for placing some of his very stimulating observations before the anthropological world.

N. K. Bose

The Santal : A Study in Culture Change *By Nabendu Datta Majumder. Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi. 1956. Price Rs. 6. or 4as. or 9sh. 9d. Pp. xvi + 19 plates + 150, including 3 maps.*

The book contains nine chapters in all of which the first is devoted to a survey of the theory of acculturation, along with a

statement regarding a few, but not all, studies carried out in India in this respect. The second and third chapters present us with a generalized account of what Santal culture was like in the past ; while the fourth is devoted to the forces which have impinged on it to bring about certain observed changes. The latter, based upon the author's field work in a small cluster of villages near Santiniketan in 1945, are presented in the succeeding three chapters. In the final two chapters, certain broad generalizations are drawn with regard to the process of culture change, as well as on the interrelation between the various components which go to make up culture.

The author is well read in relevant literature ; but his field observations compare rather unfavourably with his theoretical equipment. Thus, although he has rightly said that the degree of change observable in the economic, social and philosophical or religious spheres have been unequal, yet the proofs adduced leave one, not unconvinced, but certainly distressed by their inadequacy. The evidence furnished is more *illustrative* than *sufficient.*

If for instance one Santal builds windows in his house, or another uses a secondhand iron bedstead, one has to prove that such elements have become sufficiently standardized to form parts of the new Santali culture before they can be placed side by side with such changes in their religious or ceremonial life as have come to stay and of which the author gives fairly adequate proof. The former belong to the sphere of individual variation produced by internal or external forces, no matter whether a culture is in process of slow or quick transition. We believe, such superficial phenomena ought to be treated in distinction from the deeper changes in economic organization or motivation as have attained a degree of comparative stability and have also becme more or less widespread.

The treatment of the economic sector of Santal life has on the whole appeard to us to be less than adequate. Even within the sphere of the author's observations, one can, of course, draw issues with him in regard to one or two points ; particularly when he says that the zemindar (as created by the Act of 1793) or the money-lender have been ousting the High God and lesser divinities of the Santal from their *weltanschauung* (p. 122). Was the total life of the Santal just as the anthropologist has succeeded in reconstructing it on the basis of fragments of oral tradition or little bits of religious

or social ideas left over from the past ? Was there no earthly sorrow which *even then* materially deflected the attention of the Santal from his dependence on gods and spirits ? Are we not making an unwarranted assumption when we imagine that the Santal of ancient days was less earth-bound than he is today ?

A parallel study of Indian history once led to similar errors in the past. Indian life as reconstructed from our sacred literature showed a religious, other-worldly bias which is at considerable variance with the picture which has slowly been emerging out of a series of excavations or a critical study of non-Brahminical literature or the comparatively recent discoveries of secular literature like the *Artha*, *Kama* or *Silpa sastras*.

We have yet to discover some kind of material in connection with the life of our tribal people which will give us a historically more valid view of what the total life a tribal people was like in the past. The same point of view might be extended to some of the ethnological studies which are being conducted in India today. We refer to the bias which is frequently observable in the over-emphasis which certain anthropologists place on the unfamiliar elements in any alien culture. The subjective bias quite often corrupts a view of the object.

To come back to a review of the book : while praising it for the learning displayed and for its able presentation, one cannot refrain from giving expression to the feeling that its theoretical superstructure apparently rests upon a comparatively insecure factual foundation.

N. K. Bose

The Totos : A Sub-Himalayan Tribe. *By Charu Chandra Sanyal, Journal of the Asiatic (Science), XXI, 1955, No. 2, pp. 57-126, with 6 plates. Issued on March 1956.*

The Totos are an agricultural tribe who live on the border of India and Bhutan. They are confined to altogether three hamlets, and their total population in 1951 was 322.

In the first three chapters, we are presented with a historical introduction and an account of the material culture and social organization of the people in question. In the last chapter (pp.97 to 120) a vocabulary and grammar is given of the language of this interesting people.

The observations of the author are based on personal experience,

and can therefore be relied upon for authenticity. He has raised a few questions with regard to the future of the tribe, particularly as to their survival in the future. These call for scientific investigation along approved lines in the reproductive life of the people which, we hope, will be taken up in future. The linguistic chapter has been carefully prepared, and would prove to be of value to anthropologists and philologists alike.

N. K. Bose

The Rise and Fall of the East Indian Company. *By Ramkrishna Mukherjee (Veb Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, Berlin), 1955.*

This is bogus history. There is no honest groping but shameless self-assurance. The author writes in his foreword that history is not his main discipline but he has attempted a comprehensive analysis. He who seeks will find. If a person is determined to illustrate a particular viewpoint the assemblage of facts is there for him to pick and choose. For this elaborate discussion the author selects his facts from *An Advanced History of India*, James Mill's *History of British India*, R. P. Dutt's *India Today*, Dobb's *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* and Karl Marx's writings on India. The danger lies in defenceles readers swallowing such hocus-pocus.

N. K. Sinha

A Study of Vaisnavism. *By Kunja Govinda Goswami, Calcutta, 1956. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency. Price Rs. 2-12. Pp. ii+46+5*

The author has tried to trace the history of the rise and expansion of the cult of Vishnu from the Sunga to the end of the Gupta period. His principal reliance has been on archaeological evidence of various kinds. Incidentally, he has also attempted to show how *bhakti* or 'devotion' became a progressively important element in the cult.

The printing has evidently been done without sufficient care, which accounts for much of the lack of uniformity in the transcription of Sanskrit words. A more uniform policy should have been followed with regard to quotations, in the matter of translation or otherwise. Some of the quotations in the early part of the book could have been shortened without loss.

In spite of these editorially mechanical blemishes, we hope the small book will prove useful to students of Indian religious history.

N. K. Bose